

PREFACE

Historical Development of Indian Music is a systematic and serious study of different forms and aspects of Indian music from historical perspective. It is true that without historical knowledge, music, not only of India, but also of all countries, becomes incomplete and cannot be truly appreciated. So history is an essential thing which throws proper light on all the aspects of music and musical data from the very days up to this time.

Music evolved in the prehistoric India though in a very crude form. From the history of India we know that culture and civilization of India were created by the merchant class of people, who were known as Pani (or Banik), and some are of the opinion that the Panis of prehistoric India had a link of trade and commerce with all the ancient nations of the world. They were highly developed in culture and civilization, and so it is possible that they had also developed the art of music and dancing like all other branches of art and science.

In the Vedic and the Brahmanic periods, the people of India developed also the arts of music and dancing as an essential ingredient of culture and civilization. We have discussed, in the book in a very brief way, the music materials as well as their practices in different ages. And if we observe different phases of evolution of music, we will find that Indian music has created a history of its own, having different records and chronicles of materials of music, musical manuscripts and scriptures, stone-pictures, sculptures and paintings of Rāgamālā, and it can be said that the history of Indian music has preserved the glorious tradition from the most ancient time uptil now. In India, in the pre-Christian era, and also in the beginning of the Christian era,

different stone figures of singing, dancing and musical instruments are depicted in the railings, walls, and facades of the Hindu and Buddhist temples and monasteries and from these the historians say that India has produced many stone figures as the story-tellers, and they undoubtedly supply profuse materials of music to the historians of the world. The wonderful frescos of Ajanta and paintings of other cave-temples of India supply many materials of music. So the materials of early history of music of India can be collected from different sources, lives, books, manuscripts, monographs, sculptures, and paintings which are the precious treasures of India.

Now, music i.e. materials of music gradually evolved and developed in different ages with different forms and types. And it is seen that the current of evolution flows always from the lower to the upper, from the crudest to the richest and finest levels. There are numerous records and evidences in letters and writings, in stones and paintings, in things and materials. So it is not true that Indian music has no history, rather it has no missing link from the prehistoric time uptil now. Different kinds of culture and civilization evolved in different ages, different culture and phases of art overlapped and also interpenetrated, and thus shaped and re-shaped the old ones with new ones, and enriched the length and breadth and volume of Indian music. Besides, Indian music has a specific character of its own, and its structure and texture were constructed out of many raw materials of music and musical forms and yet it breathes the air of spirituality which means its outlook is stretched not only to material world, but also to the Divine other-worldly region. Or it can be said that Indian music builds a golden path that connects the lowest dwelling home of the mortal man with the highest dwelling place of God i.e. earth and heaven, and imparts knowledge of supreme of a non-objective

I have dealt with different forms and types of music

together with different problems and their solutions. The vastness of Indian music knows no bindings and boundaries, but it expands itself keeping pace with times or different periods which pass onwards towards perfection or completion. It has absorbed many foreign elements in different times, but, at the same time, it has systematised them and designed them in its own nature. Similarly it has contributed may of its own treasures to other countries, which are genuinely recognisable when surveyed with a historical outlook.

In this second enlarged new edition, I have added many chapters with new topics which are essential to the inquisitive students of music, specially discussions on æsthetic aspects of music of East and West, as well as the development of æsthetic sense and beauty as contained in music from Numberata (3rd century B.C.—2nd centur ... down to Panditaraja Jagannath (16th-17th century). Besides the method a composition of the text-parts of music both in Sanskrit and Bengali, together with styles, phrases, psychological and philosophical contents as contained in the forms of the text-parts of music, there are many new and important topics and Appendices which, I believe, will help the students and also the teachers of music. Some new lights have also been thrown on the musical instruments like Veena, Tumbura, Esraj, Sitar, Rabab, etc. In fact this second edition is completely a new book which has been written exclusively from the historical outlook and which serves the purpose of the lay as well as of the critical students. And I dare to say that every topic of this book will meet the demand of the research students. The portion of the 'Padavali-Kirtan of Bengal' has been corrected with many additions and alterations and the portion of 'Dhap-Kirtan' has been added. Besides, the topic on 'Music and the Musical treatises of Bengal' has especially been given prominence for the research students on those subjects. Bengal was and is still now known as the place of culture of different type of music. Classical type of Dhruvapada, Khyal or Kheyal and Tappa song.

cultured at least for three hundred years, and this book has given the graphic descriptions of them. Moreover, I can say that I have made this new second edition a referential book.

I came from a family which all the time bears the tradition of Indian classical music, and I learned music from my childhood from my elder brother, Shri Panchkari Banerjee, who is an accomplished musician, and is especially a Dhrupadiya. Afterwards I learned Dhrupad from Ustad Nikunja Behari Dutt (of Sibpur, Howrah), the disciple of Sangitacharya Aghore Nath Chakravorty, Sangitacharya Gopeswar Banerjee (of Vishnupur), Prof. R. Y. (of Gwalior), Jnanendra Prasad Goswami and others. is impossible for me to forget the sweet memory of Varanasi, where I studied Navya-Nyaya under Pandit Vamacharan Bhattacharyya (younger) and Dhrupad under the able guidance of Sangitacharya Harinarayan Mukhopadhyay. Though the methods of improvisation or styles were different with different Ustads, yet their rich collections helped me to understand and appreciate the value and beauty of the Dhrupads, practised all over India in different ages. From Harinarayan Babu I collected different kinds of Dhrupad of different gharanas maintained by the old masters of Incia.

Now I offer my thanks and gratitude to Dr. B. V. Keskar, who was kind enough to contribute his learned Foreward to the first edition of the book. He was then the Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, and now he is the honourable Chairman of the Book Trust of India, New Delhi.

I am grateful to Shri Durgapada Bhattacharyya for helping me for typing and making the manuscript of this book and also for helping me in various ways.

I offer my thanks to Shri Suresh Chandra Choudhury, Brahmachari Pranabesh Chaitanya, the Manager of the Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, Publication Department, Calcutta, Shri Debashis Hore, Shri Ashutosh Ghose, Shri Hemchandra Ghose and Shri Manicklal Dutta for helping and encouraging me in various ways.

I also offer my thanks to Shri Kanailal Mukhopadhyay of Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 257B, Bipin Behari Ganguly Street, Calcutta-12, for publishing this book and encouraging me in various ways. Lastly, I offer my thanks to Messrs Ramakrishna Printing Works for taking minute attention and care for neatly printing the book.

Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, 19B, Raja Rajkrishna Street, Calcutta-700006. September, 1973.

SWAMI PRAJNANANANDA

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FOREWORD

(TO THE FIRST EDITION)

I welcome this effort at a scientific study of the history of music by Swami Prajnanananda. It is unfortunate that at present the study of music is sadly lacking. The musicians have mainly become only practicians, some degenerating into just repetitors. The belief, strengthened during the last three centuries or so that music is only gained by practice, is an erroneons one. The study of theory, history and background of music is as essential for gaining a practical mastery over it as actual vocal or finger practice. The decline in Indian music is mainly due to the decline in the study of Shastra of music.

It is possible that during the 17th and 18th centuries, when large numbers of eminent Muslim musicians came to the fore, the study of the Shastras or the theory practically stopped, the reason being that the Shastras are in Sanskrit and the musicians did not know anything of that superb language. From that it was only one step to maintain that there is no practical utility in the study of the books. Some of them sincerely believed that this book knowledge is utterly useless.

Absence of this vital and essential general culture of music has created a lopsided and distorted position in our music. Parrot-like copying from the voice of one Guru by his disciple has led to the gradual changing and distortion of the various compositions and even swaras. No human instrument is prefect and no Guru can transmit to his disciple exactly what he knew and hundred per cent correctly. The capacity of the disciple, physically and mentally, to assimilate whatever has been taught vocally, is the most important factor in any such transmission. As the physical potential of every being differs from others, it was natural that every disciple dropped some of the finer points of the teaching of his Guru. In half

a dozen generations this led to a very considerable change in the original compositions and the way of rendering them. This would not have happened if there had been the study of Shastra and the outline of music in writing.

The study of history and theory of music, therefore, is very essential in any further progress of music. I am very glad, therefore, that Swami Prajnanananda is rendering by writing this book a solid contribution towards that objective.

The most notable effort in the study of theory and practice of music as a Shastra was that made by the tate Pandit Bhatkhande. In fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that the present-day renaissance of Hindusthani music owes much to the research that he carried out in unearthing old Shastric manuscripts, in gathering together with great labour and ingenuity old genuine compositions of great masters and in analysing and rationalising all the material that he had gathered into a coherent theoretical structure of Hindusthani music. It is a pity that the monumental work done by Bhatkhande could not be continued, because no such genius as he took up his mantle. But it is essential that scholars who have the right approach, should try to further the cause that he began so well.

The blind copying of particular compositions without any background or study of Shastras has brought present-day music to a sorry state. Eccentric mannerisms, distortions and such other influences have crept in. The object of music which is to please, has gone into the background. Acrobatics have gained prominence, and there is a danger of music losing popular support which is essential for its development and progress. Music is a dynamic art and if it does not adapt itself, on the foundation of the noble Shastras, to new conditions and create new forms, it will not be able to get any place in the new order of things. A large number of short-sighted musicians who have only a narrow view of things and are concerned only with themselves or their particular small group, do not realise that they are not helping in the growth

or development of music. Unless we shed the eccentricities and acrobatics that have developed in music and make it mare pleasant, more spiritual and more appealing, we will not qe able to attract the public again to the enjoyment of musical art. If no heed is paid to this state of affairs, music is not likely to gain public support in spite of all efforts of the State to revive the art.

There is another link between Swami Prajnanananda and myself. I have had the privilege of learning music for a pretty long period from the late Dhrupadacharya Shri Hari Narayan Mukhopadhyay of Banaras from whom Swamiji also learnt his music. In fact, I might say that my appreciation and glimpses into the world of music are really due to Shri Hari Narayanaji. So we have, therefore, a link of brotherhood which gives me added pleasure in writing a few words to the excellent book that Swamiji has written.

New Delhi, September, I, 1958. DR. B. V. KESKAR

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A NOTE

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I would like to ascribe the date of Muni Bharata, the author of the Nātyaśāstra, to "3rd Century B.C. to 2nd Century A.D." instead of 2nd Century A.D. as has already been mentioned in my books. Therefore, I request the readers to correct and read the date accordingly.

PRELUDE

From the dawn of history, ever since mankind started on its journey along the path of progress and civilization, music has had a very special charm for the human mind. It can very well be called the magic of sound, and it has always been a very important element in the culture of all civilized tribes and races. We know very well that the different moods and temperaments of different tribes and races have been very largely moulded by the physical surroundings and climatic conditions of the regions, inhabited by them. The phlegmatic and stolid inhabitants of cold and bleak regions, the gay and light-hearted children of the sunny south of Europe, the fiery tribes of the deserts with their fierce love and hate, the splendour-loving people of the gorgeous tropics are all, literally speaking. children of the soil they inhabit. Their moods and temperaments are reflected in their music in which their heightened emotions try to find an outlet. Almost unutterable woe and grief, the deep and tranquil happiness of sacred life, the ordinary pleasures and pains, love and hatred, martial ardour, call to duty, are all sought to be given expression to in the music of different tribes and races in different ways and according to their character and temperaments.

Thus, we find diversity in the music of different peoples of the world. But it seems very probable that beneath the diversity, there is an under-current of unity. The Vedānta philosophy says that the soul of humanity is one though seemingly different in different bodies. An analytical as well as comparative study of the Indian music will, therefore, be a useful step in that direction. It can at least be hoped that such a study will lead us to music which will appeal to all nations and tribes of the Aryan stock. To Indian musicians it is also necessary to preserve the continuity of progress and evolution.

There is a vast scope for improvement of Indian music through the adaptation of the Western technique of harmony, specially in orchestration. Many types of rāgas may find their fuller realization and attain greater richness in the Western orchestration. One can see a glimmer on the horizon of the dawn of an era of such synthesis of the Western and Eastern systems of music. But the composers of such synthetic music must have a clear perception of the spirit of the Oriental music, so that their composition may also retain its Oriental character and glamour.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL METHOD IN THE STUDY OF MUSIC

Indian music dates from dim antiquity and it is still on its march. It will not come to an end so long as it retains its creative force and artistic merit. A history is conceived as the narration or tale of memorable events that preserves the memory and propagates the knowledge of glorious culture and civilization of man and his society.

Now the term 'history' connotes the idea of progress. does not stop for a moment, but marches onwards towards the eternity, weaving the networks of subjective thoughts and objective actions of the human society. K. A. Nilkantha Sastri and H. S. Ramanna say: "History is such a wide subject that it knows no beginning and no end. Each act or historical episode is the effect of some previous episode and probably leads on to another." Further they say: "History, then, is in part a science. It is also, and in a much greater degree, an art. It consists not only in collecting facts about the past, but also in thinking and feeling about them. must have a proper conception of the facts, of the conditions, of the motives, and of the characters. * * The past cannot be constructed by men whose knowledge of life has been gained only from documents. Mere accumulation of facts is insufficient. Using our imagination and our judgment, we have to interpret them. No, facts do not always speak for themselves. They have to be weighed and measured. They must be placed in their proper setting. There must be intelligent reflection upon the significance of the facts. There must be that insight into reality without which the past can have no vital meaning for living men". 1 Such is also the opinion of Bury. To Croce,

^{1.} Vide Historical Method in Relation to Indian Histories (1956), p. 11.

the average historian is a mere chronicler, for facts only become history when they have passed through the crucible of an individual mind. No historian can forecast the future, and so Croce rejects determinism as decisively as Toynbee. Prof. Renier. emphasises the social role of history. Toynbee, like Spengler, envisages history as a record of civilizations rather than of centuries and continents. Spengler is a quasibiological determinist "who holds that all civilizations are fated to die, and that the future will be as the past".

The character of a people is their history as written in their own subconscious mind, and to understand that character we have to turn on it the limelight of their history. Art is directly related to culture. The higher the fine arts of a people or a nation, the higher is its cultural level. Music is a part of fine art. it can be said that history can be regarded as an art, and history of music shall be known as 'art of arts' or a greater art, as it is not only the narrative accounts or chronicles of sensible material facts of music, but of the supersensible grace and beauty of the tones and tunes also. Philosopher Schopenhauer was of the same opinion. He says regarding the celestial beauty of music that music is "the metaphysical to everything physical in the world, and the thing-in-itself to every phenomenon; it expresses in a perfectly universal language, in a homogenious material, more tones, and with the greatest determinateness and truth, the inner nature, thing-in-itself of the world." Plato and Aristotle call music an 'emotional import' which is no other than an imitation or idealization of reality. Kant sums up in his Critique of Judgment that music is the highest of arts, as it plays with sensation i.e. emotion. Hence history of music constitutes an artistic language of the creative annals of music which is an emotional aspect of nature. In short, both aesthetic and philosophic conceptions play an important role in the domain of history of music, though its stuff is made of the detailed chronological order of realistic events and tales of music of different ages of different nations.

The history of music is closely associated with the human

OF INDIAN MUSIC

society and so it does not ignore the imaginative and creative faculties of man. It has rather a deep regard for the human society. The sociological factors which are behind the creation of music, can neither be neglected, nor be ignored, as it is a product of intelligence and creative faculty of the human society. Theodore M. Finney is of the opinion that music emerged into the historic era as a social art and, consequently, its history cannot be written without mentioning its social uses. 'The types of music may vary immensely, but the forms of its use, the purposes, for which any culture retains music as a part of its social heritage, remain almost the same'.

Music is closely associated with the human society and life from the very beginning of creation. Every nation or society made their music as a means to progress and prosperity in social, political, cultural, religious, and spiritual spheres of life. the remote days, all rites and ceremonies were connected with the elements of music. T. C. Berkeley is of the opinion that in the primitive culture, especially songs of religious or magical character, outnumber secular class of songs, such as lullabies, work songs, love songs, game and drinking songs, etc., for not only must the gods be served and placated as part of religious ritual, but also there are hundreds of other beings whose impact on everyday life, on farming, hunting, marriage, burial, war, and travel, for instance, must also be dealt with. In ancient Greece, Mesopotamia, Sumer, Ur, Chaldia, and other Near East and Western countries and ancient and greater India, music formed an integral and indispensable part of life of the people. In Bengal too, men and women have adopted music in all aspects of their everyday life from childhood to old age. In folkentertainments and ceremonies, boys and girls perform everything to the accompaniment of music and dance. Their different domestic and religious functions are rather saturated with different types of music. The popular ballads and folk-songs are like narrative accounts of the spontaneous enjoyment of existence and of domestic events of the peoples of West Bengal. The peasant songs of the paddy-fields, the

seasonal songs of the children, the descriptive pictorial songs of the expert Patuās, the mystic songs of the Sahajiyās and the Bāuls, the dreamy river-songs (bhātiyālis) of the boatmen of Bāngāladesh, the magic chants of the snake-charmers, the marriage and hunting tunes of the Sāntāls, are the vividly realistic expressions of dynamic life of Bengal. Different musical instruments of folk-music like ektāra, dotāra, sārindā, gopīyantra, vanšī (bamboo flute), tiprā, mādala, dholaka, khamaka, ānandalaharī, khanjanī karatāla, etc. bear testimony to the fact of cultural taste and outlook of the peoples of Bengal. Besides, every country of India and outside India produced music of their own, which prove undoubtedly the dynamic aspect of the human race and society.

The history of Indian music should, therefore, be an authentic record of progress and development of music of the Indian people. It has extended itself from the antique prehistoric age upto the present time. It evolved as an inevitable material for the changing circumstances of the human society. Regarding evolutional and progressive nature of art of music, Cecil Gray says in The History of Music: 'In no art, science, or other departments of human activity, has the doctrine of evolution been so enthusiastically welcomed, so eagerly adopted, and so wholeheartedly endorsed, as in music. Indeed, the whole history of the art has almost invariably been conceived and represented as a single, orderly, and undeviating line of progress from the simplest and most primitive beginnings upto the complexities of modern practice; and the account of this gradual process of development, which is generally to be met with in musical histories, reads exactly like the account given in scientific textbooks of the origin and evolution of life from the amæba'. The gradual evolutionary process of Indian music is really a key to the whole range of musical production that flowed from the imaginative conception of the Indian people. Many old treatises and stone carvings are extant to record and commemorate the great art of India. These should be studied in right perspective and spirit to gather the data on music:

their different types and patterns, their presentation and appreciation in different ages. That will stir our emotional depths and uplift the level of conciousness. We are still at the spade-work stage, and so we shall have to carry on the research work patiently and indefatigably.

Now, it may be asked as to what is the utility of the study of the development of music and what is the importance of maintaining a historical outlook in the practical field of music. a fact that man has an aspiring and progressing soul, and he always marches towards the ultimate goal of success, keeping his eyes fixed on the golden ideals of India. He requires a guide—a faithful guide, to lead him on the path of investigation into the forgotten chapters of music, to collect and preserve the materials, strewn here and there, for acquiring knowledge and making use of them. But the authors of the history of music should be unbiased and truth-seeking in their outlook. They should record the facts of development of music which should be properly interpreted to unfold their real purpose and intrinsic significance. We fully agree with Prof. Ogden while he says that "in the history of art as much as in any other branch of historical research, facts are meaningless until interpreted, and the function of the musical historian is, or should be, as different from that of the period-specialist as the function of the philosopher is from that of the chemists, physicists, biologists, anthropologists, and other scientists who provide him with his material. His concern, in short, is not with the discovery of facts, but with their interpretation, and the revelation of their intrinsic value and significance'. In the introduction to his history of music, Cecil Gray subscribes also to the same view. He says: 'But while it is unquestionably a study of the greatest interest and profit to the musician to trace the gradual development of his artistic language, seeing how each period and each composer have played their respective parts in shaping, modifying, extending, and perfecting the instrument at his disposal, rendering it more plastic and more readily responsive to every subtle inflection of his thought, it

does not constitute the history of an expressive art such as music any more than a philological study of language could pass for a history of literature, or a description of a man's physiological development for a biography'. Some are of the opinion that history of music being a collection of raw materials of music, has no value in the field of practice. To this it can be said that practice is only an active or applied form of theory, and practice is always preceded by theory. In music, a historical outlook is necessary to help the artists and lovers of music to get a clear vision of the entire field of music of all ages. It does not only furnish us with all the raw materials of music of our own, but well equips us with the knowledge of music of the other countries also.

Human taste and temperament, along with his outlook, change in different ages. They change owing to different geographical boundaries, climatic conditions, traditions, special tastes and social temperament as also for other reasons, and that is why Indian music has become more or less different from the music of the Western countries. Maintaining this difference, Alfred Einstein says in his A Short History of Music: 'The musical culture of the Near East is quite different from what may be called in a particular sense 'Oriental', that of India and Arabia and Persia. In India, the normal seven-note octave is the basis of all melody, but it becomes transformed and overgrown by a whole host of intervals employed for the sake of ornament. The Arabic-Persian system is even further removed from ours; it is built up of small units of third of a note originally seventeen and later twenty-four to the octave and shows the influence of Greek musical theory'. But it should be noticed that though music of different coutries differ in their systems, method of presentation, patterns and notations, yet amidst all the diversities there is a unity of a common fundamental psychic content. In the antique Vedic age, the chanters and common people were content with purely sacred hymnal type of the sāmans or sāmagānas, which were possessed of different numbers of notes, registers, metres and literary

compositions (sāhitya). In the beginning of the classical period (600-500 B.C.), sāmans were replaced by the gāndharva type of music, which evolved in connection with drama. The gāndharva music was a kind of stage-song or nātyadharmī-gīti, possessed of svara, tāla, and pada. Similar changes took place in the music of the ancient Greek. The historian Theodore M. Finney says that music was an integral part of the drama, which bulked so large in the life of the Greek city-state. Music was a part, along with dancing, of the Greek religious ceremonies. The epics of Homer or the Odes of Pindar were sung rather than recited.

The dawn of the Christian era brought with it a new awakening in the field of Indian music. In the second century A.D., the form and system of music were more systematic with a scientific outlook in the hand of Muni Bharata of the Nātyasāstra. The genuine type of rāga came into being, with ten determining characteristics (dasa-laksana) and psychologicai value, with the new names of jātirāga and grāmarāga. There came again a new change in the third-seventh century A.D., when Kohala, Yāṣṭika, Durgāśakti, Matanga and others began to systematize the aboriginal and regional (desi) types of tune in the high-way classical music. This can be said to be an age of reformation, as the stereotyped puritanism was replaced by liberalism. The non-Aryan tunes gradually got into the Aryan stock and the result was that the volume and vital force of Indian music grew more deep and sensitive. Some of the foreign tunes were absorbed into the Aryan music. Hundreds and thousands of ragas evolved with their new and novel names and forms. The ancient grāmas (scales) were gradually replaced by the murcchanas (series of upward and downward notes). Variations were found in the number of notes, as some 'displaced' (komala) notes appeared by the side of the sharp ones. This had also happened to the Western music, during the transition from Greek to Christian. The changes took place in the period of about six hundred years, from the time of Aristoxemus until Christianity became the

Roman state religion early in the fourth century A.D. The Ptolemic system, having the Dorian scale as a model, was changed by divers elements from Palestine, Greece, Rome, and Alexandria. The Georgian chant, plain song, plain chant, psalm-singing, Ambrosian metrical hymns, etc. were gradually changed in the beginning of the age of polyphony in 850-1050 A.D. It may be known as a revolutionary action against the old type of music, in the domain of the Western music.

From the historical accounts, placed by Curts Sachs in his The Rise of Music in the Ancient World we know that music underwent many changes even before the Christian era. says that the oldest records of organized and systematized music were Sumerian and Egyptian of 3000 B.C.2 That musical life also changed in the days of David Solomon in 1000 B.C. and many foreign instruments appeared all on a sudden, just as they had appeared in Egypt after 1500 B.C. and these were: harps, zithers, oboes, cymbals, sistra,3 etc. Again in the eighteenth century B.C. when Egypt had conquered the southwest of Asia, the subjugated king had sent tributes of dancing and singing girls with their strange instruments and consequently Egyptian music underwent again some decisive change, and nearly all the ancient instruments were discarded. This shows that before the beginning of the age of polyphony in 850-1050 A.D. music of the Western world underwent several changes.

In the middle of the eighteenth century A.D. there came

^{2. &#}x27;The oldest records of organized and systematized music are Sumerian and Egyptian. Sumerian texts, written in the third millenium B.C. frequently speak of ecclesiastic music; in the great temple of Ningiru at Lagash, a special officer was responsible for the choir, and another for the training of several classes of singers and players, both male and female. The guilds of temple singers at least became a learned community***.'-vide The Rise of Music in the Ancient World (1944), pp. 58-59.

^{3.} Ibid, p. 59.

a radical change upon the forms and groupings of the notes (vargīkaraṇa) of the rāgas in Indian music. The total bases (svarasthāna), in relation to the microtones (śrutis), were also altered for some unknown cause. The groupings of upward and downward notes or mūrechanās, as generators or determining factors of the rāgas had already appeared with a new nomenclature of mela or thāta or melakartā, in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. The visual pictures (rāgamūrtī), with their poetical descriptions and contemplative compositions (dhyāna-mantra), were already introduced, for better appreciation and intuitive perception of the rāgas, from the fifteenth-sixteenth century. But gradually that psychological motive was changed, for want of æsthetic sense and proper historical outlook.

There came also a renaissance in the form of radical change during the period 1585-1610, in the domain of Western music. By the year 1600 A.D. the renaissance had reached and passed its high pitch. Theodore M. Finney reminds us: 'The years between 1585 and 1610 saw the unfolding of one of the most important episodes in the whole of history of music, because it furnished modern musical art with materials and methods hereto lacking'.

But that was not exactly the same case with Indian music. Because, though the Indian method of classification of the rāgas changed from the rāgas-rāginī-putra-vargīkaraṇa into janya-janaka or genus-species (cause-effect) method, and most of the rāgas appeared with their new tonal forms, yet their real motive and spirit-behind did not entirely change. Again, from the study of the history of India it is found that Indian music has a tradition behind it and that tradition is no other than the preservation of the genuine culture and method of practice (gharāṇā) of music, which are handed down from generation to generation, or from the teacher to the student (guru-siṣṇasampradāya).

Many are of the opinion that our persent system of North Indian music is much indebted to the Mohammadan period,

because it produced many creative exponents, like Baiju Bāoran, Nāyaka Gopāla, Āmir Khusrau, Rājāh Mān, Mirā Bāi, Bābā Rāmdāsa, Sudrāsa, Swāmī Haridāsa Gaswāmi, Miān Tānsen, and his worthy predecessors. Captain Day is of the opinion that the most flourishing age of Indian music was the period of the native princes, a little before the Mohammadan conquest. With the advent of the Mohamma. dans its decline commenced. Indeed it is wonderful that it survived at all. Such is also the decision of Capt. Willards, when he says that with the progress of the theory of music arrested, its decline was speedy, although the practice, which contributed to the entertainment of the princes and nobles, continued until the time of Muhammad Shāh of Delhi, after whose reign, history of music is pregnant with facts replete with dismal scenes. But all these opinions should be reviewed with care and justice.

The Gwalior School, founded by Rājāh Mān Tunwār, really revived the culture of the dhruvapada type of nibaddha-prabandha music, that was current even before the time of Śarangadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.) of the Sangita-Ratnākara. It reached its climax during the reign of Emperor Akbar (1542) 1605 A.D.). The kāwāl and khyāl types of music had already got their foothold in the soil of India. Many of the noted Mohammadan and Hindu Ustads were patronized by the Nawābs and Hindu chiefs. But during the time of Shāh Ālam II (eighteenth century A.D.), the last titular Mughal Emperor of Delhi, the glorious musical tradition of the Delhi Sultanate came to an end, and all the Muslim and Hindu Ustads of Delhi, Agra and adjacent places were dispersed all over Northern India. The noted musicians, who belonged mostly to the Tansen school, began to seek refuge in different Durbars of Muslim Nawabs and Hindu kings and Zemindars of Rajputana, Oudh, Betiya, Rewa, Gwalior, Bengal and other places. This incident was in a sense a blessing for India, as it helped the propagation of classical music outside the boundaries of Delhi and Agra. At present classical types of both Northern

and Southern schools of music are cultured widely in their true perspectives in Indian and Muslim countries. The services of the All India Radio undoubtedly deserve credit for the culture of music. The folk and other regional music have already occupied unique positions and got appreciation in different countries of India. The future of Indian music is more brilliant and hopeful, and it will surely bring a permanent solace of peace and love not only to the people of India, but also to other nations of the world. The development and novel creations of the types and patterns of music are the signs of hope and life, and they will supply fresh materials for the new annals of history of Indian music.

CHAPTER TWO

WHAT IS INDIAN MUSIC

I

Music that evolved in Indian soil and imbibed the spirit and atmosphere of spiritual India, is kown as Indian Music. It possesses a synthetic vision and special character of its own, and so it differs from music of other countries in its structure, temperament and method of improvisation. Indian music has, no doubt, been influenced by foreign music and culture, but yet it has preserved its own quality and nature, and has contributed immensely its materials to other civilised countries. Or it can be said that Indian music has embraced different materials of music of other countries, but has absorbed them in an unifying method.

Music is a fine art which excels in many respects the arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting. Indian music has an appeal to the core of the heart of the human beings, nay, it attracts and charms all the living beings of the world, irrespective of caste, creed and colour. Music can be said to be the sweet and soothing sounds that vibrate and create an æsthetic feeling and beauty that overcome the feelings and beauties of the nature. So music is recognised as the greatest and finest art that brings permanent peace and solace to the human world.

The Indian authors of music are of the opinion that music of all nations of the world has its root in a supreme sound which is known as Sphota or Sabda-Brahman. Patañjali enunciated this theory of Sphota in the Mahābhāṣya, and said that the causal sound that gives birth to speech as well as to music, manifests in two ways, anāhata and āhata, unmanifested and manifested. The sound is known as nāda. The unmanifested, anāhata-nāda is causal one, whereas the manifested

 $\bar{a}hata$ is a gross one. So one is the cause and the other is the effect. The causal $n\bar{a}da$ or sound generates from the friction of vital air with heat-energy, i.e. of $pr\bar{a}na$ with agni, the internal fire. The entire process of origin of $n\bar{a}da$ or sound (musical) is a psycho-physical one.

The English word music is a derivative from French word 'muse'. In Sanskrit, it is called 'gana', 'giti' or 'sangita'. The later treatises on music have explained or rather defined sangita as combination of vocal music, drumming and dance (gīta, nṛtya, vādya). The word sangīta is also found in the Rāmāyana (300 B.C.), Mahābhārata (200 B.C.), Purāņas and the Natyasastra of Bharata. In the Padavali-Kirtana and other classico-Bengali songs of Bengal, pada is used to denote gāna i.e. music composed of literature (sāhitya) and melody (sura). But gana and gitis are the combination of sweet sounds that pleases and soothes the minds of all the living beings. Sangita is accompanied by pāṭḥya or sāhitya which is known today as vāni or kathā. Gāna or gīta originates with the succession of tones that produce agreeable and pleasing sensations. It is, in truth, the man's expression of deeper converse with the innermost spirit which is materialised through the medium of tones, tunes and melodies. It can be said to be the language of man's deeper soul. It is different from the speech sound of the speaking language. In the Vedic and Pauranic literature, we find the mention of speech-song which were known as stotra or tuneful recitation i.e. recitative music. The speechsong has a recitative value, and it carries with it æsthetic lustre and meditative value. The musical sound is possessed of sweet tune which is considered as the flavour of pleasing sound, and it is impregnated with divine lustre (lāvanya), æsthetic sentiment (rasa) and mood (bhava). Lavanya may be compared with the lustre of a jewel or crystal. It is also found in the face of a man or a woman, which looks sweet and loving and captivating. It can be said to be a symbol that represents the inner essence of man and even of animal.

Melody or melodic form (rāgā) is the soul of music. Now

what do we mean by a $r\bar{a}ga$? A $r\bar{a}ga$ is a psycho-material object, or an objective expression of the subjective feelings of the human mind. The mental feelings or sentiments and materials like $s\bar{a}hitya$, chhanda, $t\bar{a}la$, laya, etc., are the ingredients of a $r\bar{a}ga$. A $r\bar{a}ga$ is first designed ideally in the mind and then is projected outside in material sound form. So in the process of both construction and manifestation of a $r\bar{a}ga$, mind and matter are active.

From the idealistic viewpoint, a rāga is a construction or projection of the mind, and, therefore, it can be said to be an image of the subjective idea or ideal. Some are of the opinion that a succession of tones that designs the melodic form, is independent of the mind, and forms an idea of the pattern of melody in the mind. But the suggestions, says Swāmī Abhedānanda, come through the eyes, through the ears, and through other organs, which are known as the gateways of sensations or inner ideas. The suggestions are not in the state of consciousness at first, but are the changes of molecules and atoms of the nervous systems and brain. Then come the ideas of feeling and sensation. At the root, they are nothing but motions. The ideas of motion are the elements, out of which the epitome of the mind substance is built. Elsewhere Swami Abhedananda says in this connection: "Sensations or vibrations of the external objects which come through the nerves, are nothing but suggestions and those suggestions are carried by the nerves to the brain. But the hemispheres of the brain act from considerations, that is, from expectations of sensations which is felt in one way or other. These hemispheres are regarded as the seats of emotion, instinct and intelligence which do not exist is animals."

The modern psychologists explain everything by the reflex action of the brain. When we construct a structure of a melody or $r\bar{a}ga$, a reflection of tonal arrangement and succession floats in the mind in a thought form like an image which produces an impression (of $r\bar{a}ga$) in the brain. The impression of the $r\bar{a}ga$ is again translated into a feeling, and immediately the

mind reacts, and through the reflex activities we at once project the idea of the $r\bar{a}ga$ outside in material form, which does not involve a mechanical process, but it is conducted and governed by the intelligence that shines behind the mind. The sensation of the melody or $r\bar{a}ga$ comes in the form of vibrations or currents of stimuli, and it suggests, instigates and inspires the artists to create melody or $r\bar{a}ga$. Therefore, the will-to-create is the cause of construction as well as of manifestation of melody or $r\bar{a}ga$, and, therefore, it is a fact that the subjective form of the $r\bar{a}ga$ manifests as the objective one.

The nature of a rāga is determined by the melodic movement known as varņa which helps to create and manifest the pleasing and soothing sensations. The meaning of the varņa is to manifest. It moves in four different ways, and determines the rāgas to be manifested in different periods of the day. It is known to us that rāgas are produced in different times, and the temporal units are surcharged with some specific qualities of Nature, which are known as environmental mood or temper.

A raga is known by its constituent tones and essentials like the sonant (amisa or vādī), the consonant (samvādī), the dissonant (anuvādī), the initial (graha), the final (nyāsa), etc. Bharata of the Natyasastra first promulgated them defining the ragas. Though it is true that a raga creates a pleasing sensation in the mind: 'ranjayati iti ragah', yet its fuller significance is realized by the association of its essentials. common significance of pleasing capacity is found in the music of the primitive nations of the world, but that music did not reach to its fuller meaning and value until and unless ten essentials (dasa-laksmanas) evolved as the product of human intellect as well as of necessity. In the essentials, we find a vital force which animates and manifests the form of a raga. The vital force or prāņa is known as vādī. Vādī is a word which speaks the nature of the raga-vadanāt iti vādī. The vital tone that determines the true nature and value of a raga, is known as vādī. In Bharata's time, in the 2nd century A.D., vādī was known as amsa, and as now-a-days one prominent tone

plays the role of a vādi, so in Bharata's time, there were numbers of amsa. That amsa was afterwards identified with vādī, and Śārangadeva of the 13th century admitted this coincidence.

The essentials are known as the determining characteristics. A raga is sustained and animated by its inherent emotional sentiments and moods that lie in the microtones, which constitute the forms of the tones and tonal successions. Nārada of the Siksā (1st century A.D.) gave the names of five microtonal units (śruti), tīvrā, dīptā, etc. and Bharata, on the basis of those five microtonal units, as devised by Nārada, defined 22 microtones or srutis, which are surcharged with æsthetic sentiments and moods. The microtones, in truth, supply the tones their æsthetic qualities which are the lustre and value of music.

Indian music is both immanent and transcendent. It is immanent with its raw materials of microtones, tones, tunes, mūrcchanās, etc., and is transcendent with its surpassing divinity that unifies as well as transforms all its means or mediums. Indian music is intuitive and meditative in its nature, as it helall to concentrate the divergent modifications of the mind and brings realization of the Divinity in the innermost depth of their hearts, which unfastens the knots of all doubts and delusion, and confers upon them the blessings of emancipation or mukti, the summum bonum of the human life.

Nārada (first century A.D.) said in his Sikṣā that both vaidika sāmagāna and laukika (deśī) classical type of music possessed of ten qualities (guṇas), and music is manifested with them in different forms and ways. Bhattasobhākara commented: 'laukikam ca vaidikam ca ganam dasa-guna-yuktam tu vaidikam kāryamityuktam'. These qualities (gunas) enrich and make manifest the ragas and subsequently the songs or gitis. The ancient musicologists fomfulate this qualities as,

- (a) Raktam: An absorbing interest or attraction of men and animals for or towards the melody of the song, produced by the combination of the lute (veenā) and flute (venu). The combination imparts in them the harmonic relations between the successive notes, and thus helps to evolve the melodic form with pleasing and soothing sensations. The utility of the quality of raktam is to attract the mind of men and animals and to create concentrated attention. The lute and the flute are the most ancient musical instruments, and in their harmonic sounds or tunes abides the divine absorbing and enchanting power.
- (b) Pūrņa: Nārada of the Sikṣā said that the distinct manifestation or presentation of metres (cchanda), stanzas (pada) and letters (akṣara) helps to the complete formation of tones and microtones. The latter musicologists are of the opinion that full play of the succession of notes in the bass, the medium and the high is known as pūrņa.
- (c) Alamkṛta: It is an easy process of manifesting the tonal sound in the bass and the high octaves. It may be said to be the requisite embellishment.
- (d) Prasanna: Easy of recognition.
- (e) Vykta: Expression of the stanzas (pada), fully equipped with music-parts (dhātu), words (kathā), metres (cchanda), notes (svara) and melodies (rāga). The commentator Bhattasobhākara said that it is essential for the knowledge or perception of different numbers (samkhyā) and qualities (guṇa).
- (f) Vikrişta (or vikruşta): Distinct manifestation or clear expression of the words and sentences. Sometimes it means the clear use of notes of the high pitch.
- (g) Ślakṣṇa: It is the fine and subtle manifestation of the notes in different tempo. It is easily recognizable in the slow (vilamvita) tempo.
- (h) Sama: Proper sittings of the four melodic movements or varnas to rhythm and tempo.
- (i) Sukumāra: Easy and graceful manifestation or expression

of notes in different octaves (saptakas), bass, medium, and high.

(j) Mādhuryya: The natural, graceful and sweet expression of stanzas (pada), letters (akṣara) and notes (svara). It is known as the graceful shining lustre i.e. lāvanya or lālitya. It is a kind of quality (guṇa) of an object. As for example, a precious stone possesses a shining lustre of its own, and it is the 'lāvanya' of the stone. As an intelligent face of a man is marked by a glow, so the sweet and orderly arranged rhythmic pattern of the notes of a rāga creates an inspiring sensation, which is known as 'lāvanya' or lustre.2

Indian music is always recognized by the presentation of the tonal form of a $r\bar{a}ga$, and it tries to present the $r\bar{a}ga$ in harmony with words, tune, rhythm, tempo and æsthetic sentiments and moods. So a $r\bar{a}ga$ does never appear as a bare outline or skeleton of the tonal arrangements, but it manifests itself as living and dynamic.

The basic element of music is sound, which is manifested in the form of tones and microtones. The Indian psychologists and philosophers say that the psyche or soul of music is made up of sound with emotions. The nāda or causal

2.

व्यक्तं पूर्णं प्रसन्नं च सुकुमारमलंकृतम् ।
समं सुरक्तं श्लक्षणं च विकृष्टं मधुरं तथा ॥
दशैते सुर्गुणा गीते तत्र व्यक्तं स्फुटैः स्वरैः ।
प्रकृतिप्रस्ययेश्वीक्तं छन्दोरागपदैः स्वरैः ॥
पूर्णं पूर्णाङ्गमकं प्रसन्नं प्रकटार्थकम् ।
सुकुमारं कण्ठभवं त्रिस्थानोत्यमलंकृतम् ।
समवर्णलयस्थानं सगमत्यभिधीयते ।
सुरक्तं वह्नकीवंश-कण्ठध्वन्येकतायृतम् ॥
नीचोच्चद्र तमध्यादौ श्लक्ष्णस्व श्लक्ष्णमुच्यते ।
उच्चैरुच्चारणादुक्तं विकृष्टं भरतादिभिः ॥
मधुरं धुर्यलावण्यपूर्णं जनमनोहरम् ।

In the Nāradīśikṣā, rakta has been mentioned instead of

sound is the basis or ground of music, and upon this primal ground all the phenomena of Indian music are built. The notes originate from the vibrations that evolve from the vital air or prāṇa-vāyu. The seven notes, şadja, rṣabha, gāndhāra, madhyama, pañchama, dhaivata and niṣāda evolve out of the vital air, which comes in contact with the different internal parts of the body. It has been described in the Māndukīśikṣā:

Kanthaduttisthate sadja-rsabhah sirasastathā / Nāsikāyāstu gāndhāra uraso madhyamastathā // Urah sîrobhyām kanthacca pañcamah svara ucyate / Dhaiyatasca lalātādvai nisādah sarvarūpavān //3

That is, the note sadja is born when the vital air is in friction with throat (kantha); rsabha emanates from the seat of the head (sira i.e. mouth); gāndhāra from the nose; etc. But the description of the Nāradīsikṣā is more rational and tenable. Nārada described that when the vital air (prāṇa-vāyu), rising upwards from the navel base, comes in contact with the junctions of the canal of the throat, it produces sounds of different pitches and they are sadja, rṣabha, gāndhāra etc.⁴ It is a fact

अक्टादुत्तिष्ठते पड्ज-ऋषभः शिरसस्तथा । नासिकायास्तु गान्धारः उरसो मध्यमस्तथा ।। उरः शिरोभ्यां कण्ठाच्च पञ्चमः स्वर उच्यते । धेषतथ ललाटाद्वे निपादः सर्वस्वपनान् ।।

- माण्डुकीशिक्षा

4. In the Naradistiksa (7-12), Narada described:

नासां कण्डार्स्तालुजिह्नाद्वांश्च संश्रित:।

पड्भाः सञ्चायते यसमात् तस्मात् पड्ज इति समृतः।।

वाष्टुः समुत्थिती नाभेः कण्डशीर्यसमाहतः।

नर्दत्यपमबद् यसमात् तस्माहषभ उच्यते।।

वाष्टुः समुत्थिती नाभेः कण्डशीर्यसमाहतः।

नासा गन्धावहः पुण्यो गान्धारस्तेन हेतुना।।

वाष्टुः समुत्थिती नाभेको हृदिसमाहतः।

नाभि प्राक्षो महानादो मध्यमत्वं सम्पन्नते।।

वाष्टुः समुच्छितो नाभेक्शोहत्कण्ठशिरोहतः।

पुत्रस्थानोत्थितस्यास्य पञ्चमत्वं विश्वीयते।।

धेवतं च निषादं च वर्जयित्वा स्वारद्वयम।

श्रेषात् पञ्चस्वरांश्चान्यानं पञ्चस्थानो च्छितान् विदुः।।

that any kind of sound originates from the friction of two or more material things. According to Yoga and Tantra philosophies, the primal will of all living beings resides in the base of the spinal column, known as mūlādhāra. In Tantra, it is known as Kāmakalā or Kuṇḍalinī. It is Kuṇḍalinī, because it is the storehouse of vital energy that lies in coiled or concentrated form. It is recognized by the Sānkhya and Vedānta as the cosmic will or primordial Prakrti. Tantra says that the divine will remain as static, and it is figuratively described as the sleeping and coiled serpent. The serpent is a symbol of the dynamic energy. When there originates a will-to-speak or will-to-sing, the vital air intensifies the volume of the will, and makes it dynamic. It can be said that the sleeping serpent, Kundalini, awakens and rises upwards through the canal or passage that passes from the navel base to the head. Śārangadeva described it as the indescribable unmanifested will which passes through different plexes or chakras in the spinal column, and is manifested in the base of the tongue. The plexes (chakras) are the different levels or grades of consciousness, and when the unmanifested will-to-speak or will-to-sing manifests and rises upwards with the vital power, it feels different sensations and acquires experiences in different levels. The will is the energy and manifests as material sounds in the forms of speech and song, and takes the forms of words and music (sāhitya and sura).

The succession of seven notes forms the basic structure of the rāga. Even five or six notes can construct a form of melody which is the soul of music. The notes are of two kinds, placed (śuddha) and displaced (flat or chromatic i.e. komala). The displaced or flat notes are so called because of the shifting positions of the seminotes or microtones of the placed (śuddha) notes. In the pre-Christian era, we find no trace and use of subtle notes or seminotes. They evolved perhaps in the beginning of the Christian era. The seminotes or microtones are the subtle notes which are surcharged with emotions. The subtle notes are known as śrutis, and Nārada (first century A.D.)

first used these semitones or *śrutis* in the *Nāradīšikṣā*. He said,
Diptāyatā-karuņānām mṛdu-madhyamayostathā /
śrutinām yo'viśeṣajño na sa ācārya ucyate //5

Nārada admitted and gave definitions of only five semitone or microtones which were known as the genus (jāti) in the time of Bharata (second century A.D.) of the Nātyašāstra. Regarding the displaced or chromatic (komala) notes, Nārada defined the antara (gandhara) and kakali (nişada): 'antarah svara-samyukta kākaliryatra dršvate'.6 Bharata followed and svara-sadhāraņam kākali-antarā-svarau'.7 said Bharata discovered twenty-two microtones, based upon the five casual microtones or genera (jātis), as used by Nārada. Bharata also devised the twenty-two microtones on the length of the wires of two same-sized lutes or veenās, chala and achala or adhruva and dhruva, and determined four subtle and audible microtonal units that constitute the stuff of the note. sadia. He placed the note sadja on the fourth microtonal unit. He made the seventh microtone as the seat or base of the note rsabha, the ninth one as the base of gandhara, the thirteenth one as the base of madhyama, the seventeenth one as the seat of panchama, the twentieth one as the seat of dhaivata. and the twenty-second one as the base of the note nisāda. But this division and allotment of the microtonal bases of the seven local (laukika or desi) notes were however altered in the nineteenth century, and the alteration was made perhaps by a

- दीष्ठायता-करुणानां मृदुमध्यमयोस्तथा ।
 श्रुतीनां योऽविशेषक्षो न स आचार्य उच्यते ।।
 अन्तरः स्वरसंयुक्त काकलीर्यत्र दृश्यते ।
- 7. Bharata said : स्वरसाधारणं काकल्यन्तरस्वरी । Kallinath commented : 'हि यस्मात् कारणात् काकली विकृतचतुःश्रुतिको निषादः षड् जनिषादयोः श्रुद्धयोः साधारणो भवेत्तदुभयश्रुतिसम्बन्धिरयेन, अतः कारणात्तस्य काकलिनो यत् साधारणं तत् साधारणं विदुः ।

 Bharata said : (a) साधारणं नामान्तरस्वरता । कस्मात् द्वयोशन्तरस्थं तत

Bbarata said: (a) साधारणं नामान्तरस्वरता। कस्मात् द्वयोरन्तरस्थं तर साधारणम्।

(b) काकज्ञीसंद्धी निवादी, न एड्जः। द्वाभ्यामन्तरंस्वरत्वात साधारणं प्रतिवचते। एवं गान्धारोऽ व्यन्तरस्वरसंद्धः, गान्धारी न मध्यमः। तयोरन्तस्वरत्वात * * कल्तत्वात काकती, कृष्टत्वाद्वा, अतिसीक्ष्यस्वाद्वा. अथवा काक्षित्वात उभय सम्बन्धस्या काकतीसंद्धा। group of Western scholars, like Captain Williard, William Jones, and others. It is said that they followed the changed method of the then masters or Ustāds, Hindu and Muslim. Mohammad Rezzā Khān of Patna had supported this radical change, as he himself altered the current scheme of the classification of the rāgas. Some are of the opinion that Sir William Jones was the first to change the ancient scheme of the distribution of the microtones. The leading musicians and musicologists of Bengal, Sir S. M. Tagore, Kshetra Mohana Goswāmi, and others also accepted the newly moulded or modifiear system of the division of the microtones and their bases. The modified scheme was gradually accepted by the changing taste and temperament of the progressive society, though it should be further tested with a rational and scientific outlook.

Now, if we look into the Natyaśastra, we find that Muni Bharata first tried to determine the microtonal units of the notes so as to divide them into equal and unequal ratios in view of the measurements of their distances of the bases. Bharata divided microtones in two ancient scales (grāmas), sadja and madhyama with the help of two veenās, chala and achala (shifting and fixed). He said that the two veenās should first be tuned to sadjagrāma scale. Now it was evident that there were only seven wires to represent the seven notes of the scale on each of the two veenās. Evidently then, seven wires were to be tuned to the seven correct notes of the sadjagrāma scale. When one of the veenās, said Pt. Bhatkhande, was to be made madhyamagrāmic, all that he (Bharata) meant was that the wire representing panchama in the sadjagrāma should slightly be loosened so as to make it produce panchama of the madhyama, all other notes remaining in their original positions. The second direction of Bharata was most important. He directed madhyamagramic veenā to be converted again into a sadjagrāmic veeņā, but he wanted this to be done not by restoring panchama to its original pitch, but by accepting the changed panchama as a proper panchama for the new sadjagrāmic veenā. Bharata said that when the shifting veenā (chala-veenā) is thus made sadjagrāmic, the pitch of sadja

will be three strutis, that of rṣabha, will be six strutis, that of gān-dhāra, eight strutis, and so on. By repeating this process another series of strutis namely, two, five, seven, fifteen, eighteen, twenty, will be discovered. But the gāndhāra and niṣāda of the shifting (chala) veeṇā will now coincide with rṣabha and dhaivata of the fixed (achala or druva) veeṇā. On another repetition of the same process, the notes, ṣadja, madhyama and paāchama of the chalaveeṇā will coincide with niṣada, gāndhāra and madhyama of the achala or dhruva-veeṇā. Bharata began his investigation on the same method.

Bharata said that in the madhyamagrāma, paūchama is lowered by one šruti. This lowering of paūchama to get madhyamagrāma paūchama, or the raising of the madhyamagrāma-paūchama by one šruti to get the şadjagrāma-paūchama is the measure of a šruti. He further said that at first let two veeṇās having wires, instruments of playing, wooden frame, and mūrchhanās be made of identical equality and let them both be tuned to the ṣadjagrāma scale etc. Afterwards Bharata said after his final devisement that twenty-two śrutis of the two grāmas, ṣadja and madhyama, the author expected the reader (or player) to locate the śrutis and svaras in the light of this explanation. Paṇḍit Somanāth, Paṇḍit Ahobala and others followed Bharata, but differed in some places. Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya followed the scheme of Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.).

We have already discussed that Bharata determined the base of sadja on the fourth microtonal unit, that of rsabha on the seventh, and so on. But those bases were changed in the nineteenth century. Regarding new changes, Kshetra Mohan Goswāmi, a noted musician and musicologist of Bengal, has mentioned in his celebrated Bengali work, Sangitasāra that the notes, possessed of audible minute seminotes, were placed on the last microtonal bases by the ancient experts. But a close analysis and examination will show, he has said, there is a less difference of space between sadja and rsabha than between the notes, nisāda and sadja. The frets of a lute (veeņā) also prove this fact. They show that the space or distance between

the notes sadja and rsabha is double the space or distance between the notes nisāda and sadja. Perhaps, for this reason, the modern lute players (Veenkāras) have determined the seats of the notes (svarasthānas) on their last units of the microtones.

It has already been said that during the time of Nārada of the Siksā (first century A.D.) there were only two displaced or flat notes which were used in the Indian system of music, both in North and South, and they were the notes, antara-gāndhāra and kākali-ni sāda. Bharata also adopted this method, and the result was that the total number of notes, placed (śuddha) and displaced (komala), was fixed at nine. The method was followed upto the eleventh-twelfth century A.D., and in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the number of the displaced notes was increased to twelve. It was believed so long that the basic note, sadja and the fifth, panchama, were unchangeable (avikṛta) i.e. constant ones. But during Śārangadeva's time (early thirteenth century), two notes, sadja and panchama, were considered as changing or chala. Sārangadeva said that the numbers of unchangeable (śuddha) notes were usually seven, but for the shifting positions of the microtones, twelve displaced or flat notes evolved in time. He says:

Chyuto'chyuto dvidhā şadjo dvi-śrutir-vikṛto bhavet / Sādhāraņe kākalītve niṣādasya ca dṛṣyate //

Prāpnoti vikṛtau bhedau dvāviti dvādaśa smṛtāḥ //8

8. ज्युतोऽज्युतो दिधा पड्जो दिश्र तिर्विकृतो भवेत ।
साधारणे काकलीरवे निषादस्य च हश्यते ।।
साधारणे श्रुतिं पाड्जोभ्रुषभः संश्रितो यदा ।
चतुःश्रुतित्वमायाति तदेको विकृतो भवेत ।।
साधारणे दिश्रुतिः स्यादन्तरत्वे चतुःश्रुतिः ।
गान्धार इति तद्धे दौ दौ निःशङ्को न कीर्तितौ ॥
मध्यमः पड्जवद द्वे धाऽन्तरसाधारणाश्रयात ।
पञ्जमो मध्यमग्रामे त्रिश्रुतिः केशिके पुनः ।।
मध्यमस्य श्रुतिं प्राप्य चतुःश्रतिरिति दिधा ।
धैवतो मध्यमग्रामे विकृतः स्याज्चतुःश्रुतिः ।।
केशिके काकलीरवे च निषादस्त्रि-चतुःश्रुतिः ।
प्राप्नोति विकृतौ भेदौ द्वाविति द्वादश स्मृताः ।।

-सङ्घोत-रत्नाकर १।३।४०।४<u>४</u>

Therefore, according to Sarangadeva, the numbers of the microtones are 7 (suddha)+12 (vikrta)=19. In the middle of the sixteenth century (1550 A.D.), Pandit Rāmāmatya accepted only seven displaced notes, and according to him, the total numbers of notes are 7+7=14. He said: (a) 'vikrtascāpi saptaivetyevam sarve caturdasah'9 (2.33) (b) 'caturdasa svara hyete rage rupe bhavantymi'10 (2.65). In the beginning of the seventeenth century, during the time of the Pandit Somanath (1909 A.D.), the numbers of the displaced notes were seven and they were known as: 'mṛdu-sa-sādhāraṇa-ga-antara-ga-mṛdu-ma-mṛdupa-kaisika-ni-kākali-ni'. But during the time of Venkatamakhi (1620 A.D.) the numbers of the displaced notes were reduced to five only. He said: 'svarāḥ pancaiva vikrtā iti siddhāntitam maya'. So it is found that the system of twelve notes (placed or suddha 7+displaced or komala 5=12) was in vogue in the sixteenth-seventeenth century and they are still followed in the modern system of Hindusthani music.

What is the utility and importance of the microtones and their divisions? The microtones are the minute audible tones (svaras) and they determine the definite seats or bases of the tones, their nature of manifestation, their ways of constructing the modes and melodies and even their scales. Some are of the opinion that they are useless in the present system of music, as it is not possible to distinctly use them in the field of vocal music, though they can be said to be useful in the instrumental music to some extent. But that view is not correct, because the microtonal experience or sensation is essential for the determination of the tonal bases (svarasthāna) as well as of the scales and æsthetic qualities of the ragas. The scale (mela, melakartā or thāta) is the base as well as the fountainhead of various types of the melody. In truth, the scales are the melodies or ragas in themselves, and yet they are known as the sources

विकताश्चापि सप्ते वे त्योवं सर्वे चतर्दशः। (२१३३) 9.

चतुर्दश स्वरा हयेते रोगे-रूपे भवत्यमी। (१।६४) 10.

of different ragas. In ancient times, the scales were in the form of the grāmas or grāmarāgas. Afterwards they were replaced by the murcchanas or the series of seven ascending notes. In fact, the murcchanas had their origin in the gramas. In the Rāmāyaṇa, we find the use of mūrechanās in gānas i.e. jātirāgagānas, but the author of the Rāmāyaṇa did not mention whether the jātirāgas evolved from the mūrcchanās, rather it is understood from the text of the Rāmāyana that the iālirāgas originated from the grāmas, sadja, malhyama and gāndhāra, and following them, Bharata (second century A.D.) mentioned that the pure and mixed (suddha and vikrta) jatis or jātirāgas, evolved from the two current grāmas, şadja and madhyama. He did not mention the name of the gandharagrama, because it was obsolete in his time. However, the use of the mūrcchanās as the origin (janaka) of the formalized regional tunes or deśi-rāgas, was already current upto the fourteenth-fifteenth century A.D.

What is the psychological basis of the emotional sentiments and moods of the ragas, in relation to their constituent parts, microtones? It has already been said that in the Nāradīšikṣā (first century A.D.), we first come accross the word 'sruti', which determined the forms and intrinsic nature of the grāmarāgas, mentioned by Nārada as well as the later deśī rāgagītis and rāgas. Nārada said that the persons, who are not acquainted with the microtones and their value, are not worthy of being regarded as the experienced teachers: 'śrutinām yo'vi seśajño na sa ācārya uchyate'. The microtones, as described by Nārada of the Śikṣā, were given significant names, having special meanings and value. The microtones, as vised by Bharata of the Nātyśāstra, were twenty-two in number, and they were allotted in the seven notes as : sadja + rsabha 3 + gandhara 2 + madhyama $4+pa\tilde{n}chama$ 4+dhaivata $3+nis\bar{a}da$ 2=22. It has also been mentioned before that these twenty-two microtones of Bharata were designed after the 5 microtones of Nārada, and in the time of Bharata, these series of microtones were known as genusspecies-relation, or janya-janaka-samvandha. Now to make the genus-species, or jāti-vyakti, or jāti-śruti scheme of the seven notes explicit, the following chart will be helpful.

Nos.	Notes		Serial Nos	Microtones as determined by Bharata	Microtones as determined by Nārada	Notes, Numbers contained
1	Sadja	•••	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	tivrā kumudvatī maodra! Chandovati dayāvati	dīptā āyatā mridu madhyā karuņā	4
2	Ŗşabha		6 7	ranjani raktikā	madhyā mridu	3
3	Gândhāra		10	raudrī krodhā vajrikā	dīptā āyatā diptā	2
. 4	Madhyama		1 t 12 13 14 15	prasāriņi priti mārjanī kşiti raktikā ²	âyatā mridu madhyā mridu madhyā	4
5	Pañcama	•••	16 17 18 19	sandipani ālāpinī madantī rohini	āyatā karuņā karuņā	4
6	Dhaivata		20	ramyā	āyatā madhyā	3
7	Niṣāda		21 22	ugrā kṣobhiṇī	dīptā āyatā	2

According to Bharata, the bases (svarasthānas) of the seven notes were placed on the last microtonal units, and this process seems to be rational and scientific. The five microtones (afterwards $j\bar{a}tis$ or janakas), as has been said before, contain some specific and inherent emotional qualities, and they are: firmness and glowing nature ($d\bar{i}pt\bar{a}$), broadness and universality ($\bar{a}yat\bar{a}$), compassion and pity ($karun\bar{a}$), softness or slackness (mridu), and intermediateness or mediant nature ($madhy\bar{a}$). The microtones, as devised by Bharata, were also given the significant names, like cchandovat \bar{i} , $raudr\bar{i}$, $day\bar{a}vat\bar{i}$, $ramy\bar{a}$ etc. and

^{1.} Or mandā.

^{2.} Or raktā.

they were perhaps named after the images of the microtones i.e. jātis of Nārada of the Śikṣā. As for example, chandovatī of Bharata corresponds with madhyā of Nārada, and connotes the idea of order, system or peace; dayāvatī corresponds with karuṇā, and connotes the idea of compassion; raudrī corresponds with dīptā, and connotes the idea of firmness, strength or heroism, etc. So, from the psychological standpoint we find that the microtone, raudrī contains or manifests the aesthetic moods of acuteness, cheerfulness, slackness etc. which are identical with the emotional sentiment, veera (heroism), as described by Bharata in his Nātyašāstra. In this way, it can (laukika) are impregnated with some specific æsthetic sentiments and emotive feelings, which stir and stimulate the mind of men and even of the animals.

In fact, the notes and, consequently, the $r\bar{a}gas$ of not only of Indian music, but also of music of all nations of the world, are possessed of dynamic living force. They are not the dead structures of the material sound, but are the embodiment of energy and life. The inspired poets of the sixteenth-seventeenth century composed contemplative dhyānas of the notes and the rāgas, and the artists drew their colourful visual pictures. Therefore the gross sounds or sound-bodies (sabdamaya-tanu) of music were transformed into divine deities (devamaya-tanu). The of mind in the divine music, and music was recognized as the greatest and foremost art:—'na vidyā sangītāt parah'.

Indian music is divided into two main categories, theory and practice—sāstra and sādhanā. The one is suggestive and directive, and the other is applied and practical. The one is the way and the other is the end or highest ideal. The theory or theoremand portion of music is further divided into some different phases and they are: grammar (vyākaraṇa), acoustics (śabdawijīāna), literature (sāhitya), history (itihāsa), iconography (mūrtitatīva), psychology (manovijīāna) and philosophy (daršana). All these phases constitute the entirety of theory. So, by

theory of music, we can not mean only the grammar or grammatical portion of music, as it is generally understood by some scholars.

The grammar of music deals with the questions of sonant (aṃṣ̄ā or vādī), assonant (samvādī), dissonant (anuvādī), the upward and downward movements of the notes (ārohaṇa and avarohaṇa), varna, murcchana, time factor (kāla), etc. of the ragas. The acoustics belong to the science of physics which deals with the phenomena of sound. They determine the distinction between noise and tone, non-periodic and periodic vibrations and their sensations, etc. They deal with the scientific method of the construction of the musical instruments, the frequencies and ratios of the wire-lengths, situation of the frets, etc. The literature of music deals with the nature and beauty of the musical compositions, their metres, rimes, graces, etc. The history of music deals with the work of collecting the chronelogical data of music, their origin, developments and manifestations in different countries and among different nations, variations, adjustments and re-adjustments to the tasts and temperament of the peoples of different times and geographical regions. The historical aspect of music really supplies a comprehensive idea of music and helps men to get the full vision of musical developments down the ages. The iconography of music deals with the icons or visual forms of the notes and the ragas, with their corresponding emotional sentiments and moods. It helps men to get knowledge of both the subjective and objective designs and values of music. The psychology of music deals with the psyche or soul of music. It furnishes with the knowledge that every outward manifestation of music is caused by the mind or will-power, which is the real creator of music. So our attention should be concentrated on the creator first and then to the mover of the mind, the prime mover or higher intelligence. The philosophy of music deals with the real knowledge and essence of music. It imparts to men a faculty of judgement and intuitive knowledge that make them analyse and understand music as the means to an end.

Therefore, by theory of music, we must not think only of the grammar of music, but also understand that the word conveys all the phases of grammar, science, literature, history, iconography, psychology and philosophy. By practice of these phases of the theory or \$\bar{a}\sistra\$, men may attain excellence in music. The duty of the \$\bar{a}\sistra\$ is to lead men to the path of spiritual \$\sigma \alpha \dagger a \text{dhan} \alpha\$, and when \$\sigma \alpha \dagger a \text{fruition}\$, men attain immortality and everlasting bliss.

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CHAPTER THREE

EVOLUTION OF INDIAN MUSIC

The idea of evolution of Indian music pervades the vast field of origin and progression of different ingredients of Indian music, such as, notes, seminotes, scales, melodies, types of songs, musical limbs and parts, visual forms or pictures of the melodies, rhythm and tempo, musical instruments, dances, hand-poses, gestures and postures, or the rhythmic and graceful movements of the body, emotional moods and sentiments, etc. Indian music is a living art. It is the dynamic power of symbolizing the divine intuition of man in sweet and soothing sound. It stimulates and stirs the human depth and awakens the higher consciousness in man.

Before entering into discussion on evolution of music, let us survey the musical æsthetics and impart dynamic impulse and impetus to men to create or project music. The psychic content always predominates over the world of matter. Every creative order is followed and motivated by the impulse of willing of the mind-content, which designs everything ideally before projecting materially outside. Evolution of music is possible through the self-expressive process of Nature, and it comes spontaneously without the deliberate application of rigid rules.

The process of evolution is known by different terms like creation, re-creation, interpretation, expression, revelation, omission, historical process, progression, etc. The evolutionary process of music comprises the musical anthropology, or the ethnic history of music, which deals with origin and growth of music in the race or country, through different strata of time and space, and which deals with the vastly varied 1 as of music as progressively unfolded in rising racial cultures.

Music in Primitive Time

Music had its root in the most primitive savage life, and, it evolved through countless strata. Now, what are the progressively evolving concepts of music? What is the conceptual urge of man behind the evolution of music? The foundational urge and concepts of music evolved in man from three sources: (1) primitive impulses and intuitions, (2) gradually emerging scientific findings in concrete situations, and (3) working theories which are direct outgrowth of love of the creative art. There was an intense feeling for the art of singing and dancing in the bosom of the primitive men, and those feelings and love came out in the form of song and dance. The subjective impulse was thus manifested as the objective forms.

Everything physical and psychical in the world of phenomena emerged through the medium of process or evolution or progress. Music evolved always through the historical progress from the antique prehistoric days up to this time, and it will proceed on to the eternal future in various changing forms and patterns.

In the primitive age, music was crude and monotonous, but it is believed that it had a much greater field than the later art-music, bound up with the everyday life of the primitive people. It was connected with many special factors: sociological, psychological, religious symbolic, and linguistic. The primitive people sang and danced when they felt something positive to express and to enjoy. Singing and dancing were the spontaneous outbursts of their simple and sweet thoughts. Song and speech were often mingled in the course of their life and social performances. It also happened that logical thought and musical motive developed little by little from the indefinite to the definite in the course of the song, as if the initial dream-states were gradually manifesting as waking consciousness.

Well has it been said by Alfred Einstein that the first beginnings of music lie even deeper in historical obscurity than those of speech. Yet we shall have to gather knowledge of

the origin and evolution of music for our historical study and culture. The musical medium is the music proper, as executed in the form of physical sounds, which have their physiological and psychical correlates. Sound forms the base of musical manifestation, or it will be correct to say that material sound forms the physic or corporeal body and impulse or emotion, the psyche or soul of music. So when inarticulate speech is developed into the use of certain sounds as symbols for impulse or emotion, we have the beginning of speech, as distinguished from tonal manifestation or music. It may be said to be an intellectual development in the field of articulate speech, leaving music for the expression of emotion or emotive feeling of man. In fact, the will-to-create music is an intellectual message or inspiration to man and when he creates music, his feelings are moulded in pure tone-experience, and the musical material and form take the shape of a stimulate for feeling of the beauty of tone or music in itself, aside from formal art or meaning. similar process also originated in the minds of the primitive men at the beginning of the manifestation of music on earth.

Music reveals many things of the human world, which words or speech cannot. So the primitive people did everything through words and speech, but when they sang the songs, they did it through tones and tunes, forming the narratives or stories of their daily lives. They observed the rhythm by the clanking of stones, the pounding of wood, or by the dashing of stone spearheads against wooden shields. Possibly getting the idea from the hide-covered shield, they stretched skins across the two open ends of the hollow trunks of tree or covered the open mouth of the earthen ditches and thus invented the musical instruments like drum, which accompanied their songs and dances. To keep time and to create stirring emotion, they clapped their hands, nodded their heads and moved the limbs of their bodies, and from them they gradually gathered the sense of measure of time, which, in turn, gave rise to the idea of rhythm. The primitive nations did not know at first the ratios and distant measures of the tones, but yet

they used to add the notes to the words or speech, making them suitable for music. They knew the proper modes of utterances or the process of intonation. Just as a word was sometimes a sentence to the primitive men, so was a tone in songs something of a melody. Gradually they observed the forms and beauty of cadences of rise and fall in words and tones, and from the succession of words and tones, they discovered the laws and forms of melody, though in a crude form. The growth of melody was one of the main reasons why music was so significant in the life of primitive people. Prof. Marius Schneider said that primitive melody did not grow out of harmony, harmony was rather the product of melodic variants. Singing and dancing were closely related among the primitive people, and they used to generate something which was more than the original movements themselves. All the rites relating to birth, circumcision, marriage, hunting, war, weather, medicine, and death were permeated with musical elements. Among the funeral songs, the women's laments and the songs which men sang in praise of the dead deserved special mention. In primitive cultures, it was very difficult to distinguish musically the various kinds of songs since there was still so little differentiation of form. Often the type of voice used, determined the character of a melody. Funeral songs and erotic songs were often sung in a nasal voice; love-songs were accompanied by a significant play of the lips. In more highly developed cultures, formal differentiation was usually determined by the various layers of tradition, and that tradition was evident in every society of every nation, whether primitive or advanced. An archaic style survived in animal-songs and hunting-songs, and also in children's songs, funeral songs, epic songs, and in medicine and weather charms. Lamentations had a style of their own. In songs of praise of gods or supermen, the melodic line and volume tended either to rise emphatically, or to start very high. Prof. Schneider said that relation between the musical style and the content of the primitive song i.e. the words lies not in the external occasion

like rain, war, etc. but in the prevailing psychological tension. As for example, if the witch doctor implores the spirit of disease to release his patient, the song will be friendly; if he fights it with his spear, the song will be war-like; yet both will be medicine songs. In this way, it can be shown that songs of different occasions differ in their styles and moods for their different situations and different atmospheres.

From the history of the beginning of civilization we know that the primitive society was at first unable to produce a tone or song clearly and cleanly, and the pitch of the music or tonal voice was invariably wavering. From this almost imperceptible rising and falling of the voice above and below one tone, said Edward Macdowell, we may gauge more or less the state of civilization of the nation to which the song or music belonged. It is also found that the phrase-tone invariably corresponds to the sentence-word, and like it, gradually loses its meaning as a phrase and fades into a tone which, in turn, is used in new phrases as mankind mounts the ladder of civilization. Such was also the condition of words and songs in very early times.

Process of Evolution of Music

Charles Darwin was of the opinion that music evolved from the imitation of the cries and calls of the animals. Alfred Einstein also maintained similar views. He said that comparative musicology, which deals with the primitive development of music, has admitted that primitive men may have been attracted by birdsong in the first place and have continued to use it as a model for imitation. Similar belief prevails among the Indian people. It has been mentioned in the Nāradīsikṣā (first century A.D.): 'ṣadjam vadati mayūro' etc., i.e., the call of the peacock is similar to the tonality or pitch of the note ṣadja, that of the bull to to that of rṣabha; that of the goat to that of gāndhāra; that of the crane to that of madhyama; that of the cuckoo to that of pañchama; that of the horse to that of dhaivata, and that of the kunjara or elephant to that of niṣāda. The Śikṣā also shows

the physico-physical origin of the musical sounds or notes from the friction of the air with different parts of the human body.

The Western savants like Roussau, Harder, and Herbert Spencer were of the opinion that speaking with a raised voice was the beginning of song or music, i.e. music evolved from the raised voice speech in the most primitive society of all nations, and a kind of speech-song or chant-like recitative was indeed to be found among the primitive men. Specially the Spencerian theory is an idealization of the natural language of passion. So, according to this theory, music is an extension of the primitive desire to communicate; consequently its whole artistic function is related to the communication of human emotions and passions. Prof. Rowbotham did not accept the views of Spencer and pointed out that impassioned speech is the source of music and it works as a vehicle for everyday emotions. Prof. Wallaschek, on the other hand, advanced the theory that the original musical impulse was purely æsthetic, growing out of the rhythm. Some others hold that the very ancient soundlanguage 'is the older element from which developed both speech and song : speech striving towards free rhythm and music towards a more regulated one'. Dr. Burney was of the opinion that music is anterior to word and language. He said in his General History of Music: 'Vocal music is of such high antiquity that its origin seems to have been cœval with mankind; at - least the lengthened tones of pleasure and pain, of joy and affection, must long have preceded every other language, and music. The voice of passion wants but few articulations, and must have been nearly the same in all human creatures, differing only in gravity or acuteness according to age, sex, and organization, till the invention of words by particular convention, in different societies, weakened, and by degrees rendered it unintelligible'. In fact, we know very little about the true languages of the primitive cultures of different nations. Various races might have displayed the elements of sound-languages, but so far only a small number of examples have been collected. Music that evolved in the remote primitive time, can be divided into two classes, purely emotional and sensuous; the one arising from the language of heroes, and the other from the swaying or wavering of the body and the patter of feet. both of those classes or elements, said Macdowell, if we may call them so, metre (dance) and melody (tune) brought their power; to declamation, metre brought its potent vitality, and to the dance, melody added its soft charm and lulling rhyme. these are the two ways of looking at the primitive music: one, as impassioned speech, the nearest psychologically complete utterance of emotion known to man, and the other, as the dance, comprising as it does all that appeals to our nature. Nature exists with its exquisite beauty and grandeur. while simple hearted primitive man lives in it to enjoy it and also to conquer it. It is the strain of Nature in primitive man that gave him the dance and vocal music, and it is his godlike fight against Nature that gave him impassioned speech, beauty of form and motion on one side, and all that is divine in him on the other. The conception of an ordainer of the universe was already present in him. The universe around him, the sun. the moon, the stars, the sky and the ordered system of Nature created within him a great wonder and unbounded joy. He had realized the utility of a greater power, and, therefore, amid iovs and sorrows, the hope of peace and solace led him utter the inmost converse of his heart to the world-ordainer. The language of his songs was meaningful and sincere. At first he used to sing and dance for his material prosperity. With the dawn of civilization his intellect and understanding became shining and acute, and his outlook was changed and, consequently, his motive of offering music. His music was gradually enriched with more notes, grace and emotion. The monotonous arcika type of music, containing only one note, was replaced by the gāthika type, possessed of two notes. Afterwards a new type of sāmika music, with three notes, evolved out of the remains of the gāthika. Gradually for the growing taste and temperament of the more civilised Vedic people, the sāmika was replaced by the svarāntara type of music, possessed

of four notes. Music with five notes, audav type of music, then evolved and it was again replaced by the sādava type of music, possessed of six notes. Upon the skeleton of the sādava type of music, the music with seven notes, sampūrņa type at last flowered into full sweep and beauty.

A review of the Brāhmaṇas, Samhitās and Āraṇyakas literature shows simplicity in form and in the presentation of music of early days. Music consisted of recitative hymns or stotras, songs, prayers and lays in the early stage. With the progress of civilization and human intellect, the cultural sphere was lit up with a 'heavenly' glow. The conception of various deities and gods came into being and man paid his homage to them in words and tunes.

The sun-worship was prevalent in the remote antiquity. The sky (ākāša) was conceived as Varuņa-devatā in the early Vedic society, and the sun was believed to be the Mitra or Mithra, the friend of the universe. Again the sun and the sky were known as the twin god, Mitrā-Varuna. The sky was often looked upon as the ocean of milk or ksiroda-samudra, and the sun as the celestial god. The fire-worship gradually evolved as the prototype (pratinidhi) of the sun-worship, and fire was regarded as the sacred symbol of the sun, nay, the god of the nether world. Different rites and sacrifices (satra and yajña) also evolved. The butter was poured into the sacrificial fire as sacred offering and it was believed that the gods and deities received their oblations through the medium of the flames of the sacrificial fire. thought that the flames were no other than the tongues of the gods: 'viṣṇu-jihvā'. The Viṣṇu was the representative of the sun as well as of the fire. In the mytho-historical literature, Devi Sarasvatī, the presiding deity of learning and all arts, was described as the tongue of the sacrificial fire—'agni-jihvā Sarasvati'. Along with sacrificial offerings-lays and songs were sung in rhythm, and music was considered as part and parcel of the rites and sacrifices. The songs were accompanied by various musical instruments, and the cadences of dancing added to the serenity and beauty of music.

Basic Source of Indian Music

The ancient authors on music conceived and deified the primal sound, $N\bar{a}da$, as a symbol of the goddess $Sarasvat\bar{\imath}$, nay they personified the unmanifested causal sound $(an\bar{a}hata-N\bar{a}da)$ as $Sarasvat\bar{\imath}$ with a dynamic spirit and eternal energy. They said that the manifested musical sound $(\bar{a}hata-N\bar{a}da)$ is surcharged with that divine energy and soothes the aching hearts of worldly men and animals with its manifold manifestations of notes, seminotes, colours, pitches, graces, harmony and melody.

Goddess Sarasvatī has been conceived as an incarnation and the presiding deity of fine arts: music, painting and sculptures, nay of all learning or vidyā. In the Vedic literature, we find that the goddess has been mentioned in different forms and Sometimes she has been called the blazing fire, or the names. glowing ray of the sun, as the vajra ('Sarasvatī tad-dvitīvam vairarūpam'), or the river, etc. In fact, the goddess Sarasvatī is a Vedic deity and her worship was prevalent in the Vedic society. In the Rgveda, we find that the minor sacrifices were known as prayāja. Eleven prayājas were used in the animal sacrifices (pasu-yāga) and those eleven prayājas were dedicated to eleven deities. The mantras, which were chanted in the names of those gods, were known as the apri-mantras, and those eleven gods were also designated as Apri-devatās and their names were: Idā, tvastā, triat gods (Idā, Bhāratī, Sarasvatī), Usasanakta, Tanunapāt, Daivya-hotāra, Nārasamsa, Valih, Vanaspati and Svāhākrti. The 110th sūtra of 10th mandala of the Rgveda was known as the apri-sukta and its eighth Rk or stanza was known three deities, Ida, Bharati and Sarasvati. The Rkverse runs thus:

> Ah no yajāam bhāratī tūyametvilā manşvadiha chetayantī | Tisro devīrvahiredam syonam Sarasvatī svapasah sadam tu |/

Ida and Bharati were the constant companions of Sarasvati.

Besides the Sarasvatī-sūkta, they were mentioned in the hymnal songs (stuti) and in forty mantras of other sūktas. In those hymns, the names of Idā and Bhāratī were associated with Sarasvatī. Sāyana mentioned in the commentary on the 1.13.9 Rk: 'Idādisavdābhidheyoh vahni-murtayastisrah', i.e. Idā, Bhāratī and Sarasvatī were conceived as three blazing flames of fire (Agni). In the commentary on the Rk 1.188.4, Sāyana again mentioned that Idā was connected with the earth, Bhāratī with the sun, and Sarasvatī with the sky, and they were considered as Vācdevī. Again in the commentary on the Rk 1.142.9, he connected the three deities with the effulgence of the sun or Āditya. In the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, they were conceived as prāṇa, apāṇa and vyāna.

In the Rgveda (1.142.9), we find also the names of four deities instead of three and they were Idā, Bhāratī, Mahī and Sarasvatī. In the Rk 1.13.1, the Bhāratī was dropped. Gradually Idā, Bhāratī and Sarasvatī were conceived as one and the same, and Sarasvatī became predominant with all the qualities of the other two. So we find that Sarasvatī is worshipped from the early Vedic period

Again we find in the Vedic literature that the sacred river, Sarasvatī was identified with the goddess. Yāska in his Nirukta (II. 23) called Sarasvatī a 'river' as well as a 'goddess': 'Sarasvatī * * etasya nadīvad devatāvacca nigamābhāvāh'. Sāyana in his commentary on the Rk stanza 1.3.12 said that though the word 'saras' signified 'water' or 'river', yet it meant a 'god' or a 'goddess': 'dvividha hi sarasvatī vigrahavad devatānadīrūpā ca'. Most of the Western scholars have identified the goddess with water or river. In Vedic India, the river Sarasvatī was regarded as sacred like the rivers, Dvr şadvatī, Vipāsā, etc. However in the Rgveda we find the references of 'panchajātah', - 'panchajāta vardhayanti'. It is said that the Rsis, kings and common people used to perform sacrifices on the bank of the river, Sarasvatī. The 'pañchajātaḥ' were also known as pañchajanāḥ, pañchajanāyāḥ and pañchakṛtayāḥ. Some are of the opinion that pañchajāta or five races were no other than Gandharva or the semi-divine people,

Pitr or the departed fathers, Deva or the gods, Asura or uncivilized non-Aryan people and Rākṣasa or the demon. Sometimes the name Niṣāda is also found. Some say that by the word 'paāchajātaḥ' five kinds of races or clans were meant and they were Aṇu, Drahyu, Puru, Turvāsa and Yadu and Atrī. Atrī was their priest. These races or clans used to pray to Agni, Soma, Mitra (the sun), Indra and Sarasvatī. The Rṣis used to sing their daily prayers to the river, Sarasvatī. Gradually the Rṣis or the Brāhmiņs began to perform sacrifices on the bank of the river Sarasvatī, invoking Devī Sarasvatī, and there we find that the river was identified with the divine goddess.

Further we find an interpretation of the words 'saras' or 'apah' i.e. water as the Soma, which corresponds to the Moon (candra) or Devi-Gouri. In the Rg-Veda (9.1.6), Soma was called as a 'daughter' (duhitā) of the sun (Mitra). In the Vedic literature, Sarasvatī was again conceived as a 'cow' as well as the sacred words (vācaṃ) like svāhākāra, vaṣatkāra and hantakāra. We have already mentioned that the goddess was known in the Vedas, Brāhmanas and Prātišākhyas as Vişņu, Idā, Ilā, Tvastā, Bhārati, Tanunpāt, Vanaspati, Jyoti, etc. Yāska identified Idā or Ilā with the sacred fire or Agni, the terrestrial Sun. The Hindus, Buddhists and Jains generally recognize the goddess Sarasvati as 'Vāc-devī', 'Vāgesvarī', 'Vidyādharī', 'Bhadra-kālī', 'Vidvā' and 'Sāradā'. The Buddhist Mahāyāni sects conceive the goddess as a divine force or 'Sakti', an emanation of Manjusri, the masculine god of knowledge who destroys all the evil forms (ignorance) or 'avidya' and doubts or saintaya with his sword (ktpāna). Prof. O. C. Gangoly thinks that with the spread of Mahāyāna Buddhism in China and Japan, the Indian Sarasvatī was identified with the Japanese goddess, Benten, who like the Indian prototype, carries in her hand a lute (Veenā). full name in Japan is Dal-leen-zai-ten or the 'Greek Divinity of the Reasoning Faculty'. This seems to recall the close association of Lakşmi and Sarasvati in Indian mythology. earlier times, Devi Sarasvati used to be worshipped in the name of Sri or Laksmi on Śri-Panchami day. Gradually the idea of Śri,

the goddess of luck and prosperity, was separated from the idea of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning and knowledge.

However, the conception of the goddess Sarasvatī is a beautiful one in the Hindu literature. The seers of truth made her an embodiment of all-existence, all-intelligence, all-bliss (saccidānandamayī). She has been imagined as the fountainhead of divine potential energy that animates all beings and permeates all becomings of the world.

There runs an allusion in the Satapatha-Brāhmana (VII 2.4. 1-7), from which we know that music is in itself Devi Sarasyati. or it can be said, music has originated from the goddess. Satapatha-Brāhmaņa says that Viśvāvasu, a Gandharva, stole Soma from Gāyatrī. Gāyatrī is the Vedic metre like Vrhati, Jagati etc. and represents the sun. Gandharva Viśvāvasu is known as a renowned author on music. When the Devas came to know of the theft of Soma by Gandharva, Viśvāvasu, they sent the beautiful virgin Vāc or Vācdevī to rescue Soma, the nectar. The Gandharvas, it is said, were fond of women and beauty. When Vācdevī approached the Gandharvas, they were charmed with her divine and exquisite beauty and grace. They came to goddess and said: 'Let yours be the Soma and let Vāc or Vācdevī be ours'. This Vāc is Devī Sarasvatī. Here Devī and the art of music have been identified. Afterwards Devī was conceived as the presiding deity of all arts, and the musicologists called her the unmanifested causal sound, Nāda. The Gandharvas got Devi in their possession so they excelled all others in music. Dr. A. K. Coomāraswāmī related this story in a very beautiful way. He said: 'Similarly but more briefly in the Taittītriya-Samhitā, VI. 1.6.5.6, where also the Gandharvas who utter incantations, are contrasted with the (mundane) deities who merely 'sing', and Vac follows the latter, but is restored to the former as the price of Soma. The mundane deities are, of course, the immanent Breaths, the powers of the soul; it is only when they restore the Voice to the Sacerdotium that they are enabled to partake of the Water of Life; as in RV. X. 109.5-7, where the (mundane) deities, restoring

his wife (i.e., Vāc) to Brhaspati, obtain the Soma in exchange, and are made free of their original sin'.

Now from the allusion of Soma-juice and the Gandharvas, we get a very important clue to music. The Gandharvas were the semi-divine people of the north-western province of India. Some are of the opinion that they had a special system of music, and their scale of music was known as the gāndhāra-grāma. It is said that they made a special and most important contribution to Indian music, and for this reason the ancient authors of music designated the art of the laukika music as 'gāndharvam' or 'gāndharva-vidyā', to commemorate the valuable gift of the semi-divine Gandharvas. Bharata said in the Nātyašāstra that as music was composed of svara, tāla and pada, used to be practised by the semi-divine Gandharvas, it was known as gāndharvam. This type was known also as mārga, as it followed the sacred path i.e., laws and principles of the Vedic music.

Music in Vedic Time

We have seen that primitive type of music was gradually replaced by the newly moulded ones. The Vedic music, sāmagāna, evolved through the medium of songs and singing processes of the chanters and singers, and their laws, materials and processes were contained in the three main song-books, gramegeva-gana, aran yegeya-gana and uha and uhya ganas. These three Vedic song-books were really composed of three kinds of Rks or collections of verses, and those Rks were: Pūrvārcika, Āranvaka-Samhitā and Uttarārcika. The verses were the source or womb (yoni) of the songs. The uses of the Pūrvārcika were divided into three parts, and they were dedicated to three gods or presiding deities, Agni, Indra and Soma-Pavamāna. The gānas, grāmegeya and aranyegeya existed side by side in the Vedic society and were regarded as the Vedic ganas. The only difference between them was: the former was sung publicly by all communities of people, whereas the latter was meant for the mystic chanters

^{. 1.} Vide Christian and Oriental Philosophy of Art (1956), p. 141.

or singers of the sacred forests, and they were religious and spiritual. The gānas, ūha and ūhya, were also sung in the Vedic sacrifices by the side of the gānas, grāmegeya and aranyegeya. The Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa states that the notes of the ūha and ūhya-gānas were similar to those of the yonigāna or veyagāna.

In the Vedic time, the culture of art of music was developed and was more satisfactory. The sāmagāna formed a special feature of the culture of music of that time. The samagana was of various types with different numbers of tone in different Vedic recensions (sākhās), and they had different methods of rendering. Usually three, four or five notes were used in the sāmagānas, but, in the Kauthuma recension (śākhā), the sāmagāna was presented with seven Vedic notes. The Vedic notes were in downward movement (avarohana-kromena), whereas the modern classical notes are used in the upward movement (ārohaṇa-kromena). The Vedic notes of the sāmagāna were used in three registers (sthānas) like bass (mandra), circumflex or medium (madhya) and high or acute (tāra). The correct intonation of the words (sāhitya) as well as of tones (svara) were strictly observed. So it should be admitted that the Vedic song sāmagāna was very systematic. Different sāmagānas were sung (not only chanted) in sacred occasions of the sacrifices (yajñas) and rites (satras) to please the gods, priests, and the public. The sāmagāna supplied the materials of music of the later classical period, and this fact has been figuratively mentioned by the authors of the musical treatises. Bharata of the Natyasastra said that Pitāmaha Brahmā (Druhina) collected the materials of music from the four Vedas, and made the structure of the new type of music, gandharva.

In the Rgveda, we find the mention of gāna and gāthā: (a) sāma gyā manam (1.81.5), gāyatram gyā manam (1.2.14), stoma so gyā manaso (6.69.2) etc. These are the forms of the ancient process of stoma i.e. stotra or stabagāna. In Rikmantra, 8.81.5, Sāyana used the word vāk instead of gāthā (Rik 8.32.1). In the Rks 1.167.6, 9.11.8, Sāyana used gātavyam, stutirūpam vācham and stutya to explain the meanings or significances of

gāyat gāthām, somāya gāthām tai and gāthāyā purānyavynnashata. Now we find that the meaning of gāthā is gīyate iti gāthā i.e. that which is sung, or is suitable for singing, is gāthā.

Sometimes gāna was used in the sense of prayerful stuti, or chanting in praise of some deities. In the Atharvaveda, we find both the words, gāna and stotra, which were used for singing. Sometimes we find the word udgāyati for prastauti, and there gāna was meant the stotra. However, from many Rk-stanzas it is proved that the Vedic people used to sing and also recite the mantras for sacrificial and other purposes.

In the Chhāndogya-Upaniṣad (1.3-12 cantos), the method of singing of the sāmans has been described. There we find the process of udgānas, svaras, and different kinds of sāman. Omkara played the role of the vital force (prāṇa) of the udgānas. The Upaniṣad says: Omityetadaksaramudgīthamupāsita (1.1) i.e. concentrate and meditate upon the universal basic letter of sound, OM taking it as udgītha, because purushasya vāk rasaḥ, vācha rik rasaḥ, richa sāma rasaḥ, sāmnā udgītho rasaḥ. Further it says: "Taḥ praṇavaḥ sa udgītha iti". Rasa connotes the idea of extract or essence as well as the base (adhisthāna). The Upaniṣad says that udgītha can be divided as ud-gi-tha i.e. ud is the vital air or prāṇa, gih or gir is letter or word or vāc, and tha is annaṃ or cause or source. Therefore prāṇa (vital air), vāc (speech or word) and anna (cause) are known as udgītha, the sāman.

Now, what is sāma or sāman? Sā and am = sama, and the word sā means vital air or prāna and the word am is fire or energy or agni. The sāma has been conceived in different ways. The Chhāndogya-Upanişad states that sāma or sāman is known as the medium, through which songs (gānas) in praise of gods and and goddesses were accompanied by veenā which is the most ancient musical instrument of the world. The Upanişad says: "tat ya ise veenāyām gāyantye tam te gāyanti". The samas or sāmans were sung either for material prosperity, or for spiritual accomplishment. Further the Upanişad says as to what is the aim of (singing of) the sāman? The aim is the notes (svaras): "Ka sāmno gatiķ iti. Svara iti hovacha". Some of the commen-

tators explained the notes (svaras) as niṣada-ṛṣabha-gāndhāra (Ni-Re-Ga) which are recognised as the formalised local (laukika) notes, and this assumption is controversial.

The stobhas like hāhā, hau, haikāra, atha, etc. were used in ancient time in the singing of the sāmans, and those stobhas were differently conceived as loka (region), vāyu (air), chandra (moon), Atman and fire (Agni). In fact, stobhas were used to intensify the forms and forces of the samans i.e. singing of the samans. The Chhandogya-Upanişad has also mentioned about different kinds of notes or tones to be used in the sāmagānas. The Upanişad states: "vinardi samno vrņe pashavyamityagneh udgīthah aniruktah prajāpateh, niraktah sāmasya, mṛdu ślakṣṇam vāyoh, ślak snam vāyoh, ślak snam valavādin udriyasya, kraucham vrhaspatih, apadhvāntam varunasya * * * * ... These notes or tones also are the udgīthas, and these are presided by some deities. Anirukta, nirukta, mrdu, ślak sna, krauncha, etc. are the types of notes. notes are divided into two, svara and vyanjana. These are the varnas or letters which form the sentences and stanzas. The Upanisad says that the svara-varnas are known as ghoshavan i.e. forcible. The svara-varnas create force and æsthetic beauty, and these are known as prāṇa or vital force or energy. 'Now-a-days, as we use the svara-varnas for creating force in the padas and gānas, so these were used in the Vedic and post-Vedic times in the sāman-singing.

Regarding Vedic songs, Prof. A. Hillebrandt was of the opinion: "We are indebted for the Vedic songs and prose (chant) to the poets and Risis of ancient India, who composed their hymns for the solemn sacrifices of the kings and nobles of the time, and also for the praise of the gods, worshipped by the patrons. ** * The priests and kings were not strangers to the people; they stood above, but not outside their objects, and we may fairly assume that the hymns did reflect the opinions, not only of the higher, but also of the lower classes, and the popular traditions of the different ages". 2 Prof. Hillebrandt

^{2.} Vide Third International Congress for the History of Religions, Vol. II (1900), p. 11.

means to say that the Vedic religion along with the sacrifices and hymns were meant not only for upper classes, but also for lower classes of people of the then society.

Dr. A. B. Keith also elaborately discussed about religion, Vedic sacrifices and hymns in his monumental volumes of (1) The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, Vols. I & II, (2) The Veda of the Black Yajus School, Vols. I & II, (3) Rigveda Brāhmanas: Aitareya and Kausitaki (of the Rgveda) which were published in the Harvard Oriental Series. Dr. Martin Haug also dealt with the process of the sāmagāna in his book, Aitareya Brahmanam of the Rgveda (Bombay 1863). Dr. Caland beautifully discussed about the materials of Vedic sacrifice and sāmagānas in the English translation of the Pañchavimsa-Brāhmaņa. Rāmendra Sunder Trivedi also discussed about the samagana in the Aitareya-Brahmana (Bengali) and the Yajnakathā (Bengali). While discussing the Vedic Mahāvrata, Dr. Keith strongly supported the view of Prof. Hillebrandt, and said that the Vedic Mahavrata rite used to be performed on the second last day of the Gavamayana-sattra, a yearly-long rite. The Mahāvrata rite ocurred in the winter solstice. The Vedic literature say that different kinds of sacrifices (yajñas) and rites (satras) used to be performed in the Vedic time, and different kinds of samans were The Sānkhyāyana-Srauta-sūtra (XI. 13) attributes to the Mahavrata three samans, vihat, mahadivakriya rathantara. Prof. Hillebrandt said that on the whole, though by no means universally, the vrhat is made up of hymns and verses to Sūrya (the sun) and the mahādivakrtya, to Indra. "Now the prayer (of songs) to Sūrya (the sun) are most naturally connected with the efforts required at the winter solstice, to rescue the sun from destruction and death, while Indra's season in the breaking of the monsoon about the summer solstice, when he overcomes Vrtra, the demon of drought, and, as the Aitareya-Aranyaka (1.1.1) has it waxed great".

Dr. Keith said that in connection with the Vedic and pre-Vedic sacrifices and sacred rites and singing of different

kinds of saman musical instruments like drum and lute were used. Dr. Keith further said that various musical instruments used to be played by the priests and wives of the priests. presence and activities of the maidens were essential during the singing of the samans. He wrote: "Maidens with water-pitchers, dance round a fire singing-in one version-'The cows smell pleasingly: here is sweet drink'. The cows smell with sweet odours-sweet drink! The cows are mothers of butter-sweet drink! May they increase amongst us-sweet drink! The cows we would here bathe-sweet drink! As they (maidens) dance, they strike their right thighs with their right hands, or, according to Hiranyakeśi, beat the ground with their dance, i.e. pradak sinam, following the sun's motion. Finally they (the wives of the priests) cast the contents of their pitchers into the mārjāliya fire." Dr. Caland also mentioned this fact in the Pañchavimsa-Brāhmana. This kind of function is still prevalent among the primitive races like Oraons and Mundas of Bengal. They perform this function along with dance and song around the Karma tree, and Dr. Frazer also mentioned this kind of dance and song in his monumental book, Adonis, Attis and

Dr. Keith said that the solemn dances (with Vedic songs) of the maidens round the sacrificial fire in the Vedic time were a substitute for the less formal leap over the fire and left little doubt that in the Mahāvrata we have no priestly transfer to another season of a midsummer rite, but a genuine adoptation in the Brāhmaṇical ritual of a midwinter rite essentially popular.³

Now it can be mentioned that there were different kinds of sāstra to be used in the Vedic and pre-Vedic sacrifices. The Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa has recorded different processes of Vedic singing. The sāman-singers used to repeat the verses numbers and to keep the signs by small sticks cut from the wood of

^{3.} Vide the Vedic Mahāvrata in the Third International Congress for the History of Religions, Vol. II (Paris, 1900), pp. 49-58.

the Udumbara tree, the trunk of which to be placed behind the seat of the Udgatris.

We have already mentioned about two kinds of principal sāmans in the Vedic rites, which were 'vrhat' and rathantara. The Aitareya-Brūhmaṇa states that these two sāmans were known as the two boats of the sacrifice, landing it on the other shore in the celestial world. It is said that by means of them the performers of the sacrifices used to cross the year (just as one crosses a river). The vrhat and rathantara sāmans were possessed of two feet (of the sacrifice), the performance of the day was the head. By means of the two feet men used to gain their fortune. The Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa has given the vivid descriptions of the sāmans which were sung before the altar of the fire to invoke and at the same time to please the presiding deities of the sacrificial fires. The singing of the sāmans were essential, and from these sāmans evolved the forms and method of songs and singing i.e. music in later days.

Soma-Plants

As sāmagāna was essential in the Vedic sacrifices, so was the Soma-plant (somalatā). The Soma-plants were available from the Soma-buyers who assembled near the Yajānsālā. We find in the Vedic literature that Soma-plants or Soma-creepers were used in the sacrifices. The juice of the Soma-creepers were extracted so as to pour it or to offer it to the blazing tongues of the sacrificial fire. It was believed that the presiding deities of the fires used to take the offerings of Soma-juice and butter through the medium of the tongues of the fire of the sacred altar. At that time sāmans with different notes and measures were sung, richs were chanted with tones and tunes.

Many of the scholars of both the East and the West hold the opinion that juice was prepared after pasting the Somacreepers which grew in the jungle areas of the mountains. The Soma-juice was bitter and intoxicated, and the priests used to take the juice for vigour and energy. MM. A. Chinnaswāmī Sastri recently subscribed an article on the Soma-Plant, in which he said that Vedic sacrifices originated from the conception that man should share his food with the gods he worshipped. "Of the three forms of Vedic sacrifice, namely Havir-yajña, Pasu-yajña and Soma-yajña, the last one is the most important and of the greatest antiquity. The Vedas hold that a Traivarnika cannot fully repay his debts to the gods without performing a Soma-yajña". Sabaraswāmin has described in commentary on the Mimārsādaršana that Soma as a plant was full of milky juice, and it was sweet and nourishing. Many of the scholars have compared Soma with the moon. But this comparison does not hold good from the historical viewpoint. Brahmānda-purāna says that the Soma-plant was available in abundance in Mount Munjarat, near Mount Kailash. But, according to the Vedic version, Soma was supposed to have been brought from heaven (svarga) by Devi Gāyatri. In spite of the difficulty in obtaining the said plant, it was ordained that every Traivarnika should perform Soma-yojña. It is said that Somayajña used to be performed in the banks of the Godavari, Krishnā, Kāverī and Tāmpraparni. "For this" said Śāśtrī, "the original Soma-plant is not available and another plant called Putika is used as a substitute. It has to be kept for three days with water sprinkled on it every morning and evening. the morning of the fourth day the juice is extracted and stored in vessels called Graha and Chamasa. Amidst the chanting of the hymns of the Rig and Sama Vedas, the juice is poured into the sacred fire, and whatever is left over, is consumed by

Now to conclude, it can be said that the Vedic Soma-juice was neither stimulant, nor intoxicant, but, on the other hand, the Vedas attribute some good qualities to it. MM. Sāśtrī said that Soma-juice, in the Vedic time, contributed to mental peace and increased vigour. It kept the brain cool, offered instigation for work, helped endurance, assured longivity and prevented old age. In the entire Vedic texts, we find that only in two sacrifices namely, Vājapeya and Santrāmani, the

use of the wine is mentioned. Given in these cases the drinking of the remnants by the sacrificer has not been ordained. However, a close study of the Smrities and Purānas leads us to the conclusion that word nāda used in the Vedic hymns to denote the Soma-juice which means happiness and joy, and not intoxication. Rather Soma is known in the Vedic literature as Amrta (nector), and throughout the Mahābhārata, Bhāgavata and Vişnupurāna, the word Soma is used to denote Amrta. But it is a fact that the sāman chants with different tone, and tunes with three registers (sthāna) were used to invoke the Vedic gods and to sanctify the sacrifices.

Musical Instruments in Vedic Time

In the Vedic time, there evolved different types of musical instrument like veenā, venu or vamsa and mrtanga which accompanied the samans. Some peculiar type of earthen drums were in use for signaling the time of arriving or attack of the enemies. These drums were known as bhūmi-dundubhi. made up of a pit in the earthen ground, covered with the skins of the animals. Gradually dundubhi (drum) was made up of the hollow wooden stuff, covered with skin. Besides, there evolved different kinds of drum like panava, puşkara, bhānda, etc. the Vedas and Brāhmaņa literature, we find that the most ancient drums iike dundubhi, bhūmi-dundubhi, etc., were in use with the sāman-singing, when necessary. The Rgveda states: "jayatimiva dundubhih" (1.285), "sa dundubhih apasedha shatrun" (6.47-49), while explaining "app protha dundubhi" (6.47.30). Sayana addressed the dundubhi to kill the enemy-'vadhasva'. The dundubhis were also used to call men when lived in distant places "Ketu mada dundubhih vavaditi" (1.47.31). Sometimes victory used to be announced by the grave and majestic sounds of the bhumi-dundubhi and dundubhi. In the Taittiriya-Samhita (1.5.9.30), we find the mention of "dundubhin samaghāiti" or "bhūmi-dundubhin aghauti" (1.5.9.30).

It has already been said that dundubhi (drum) was afterwards made up of a hollow trunk of a tree, which was covered with the rough skin of the animals. The bhūmi-dundubhi was made out of the bhūmi or earthen ground, covered with skin. It can be asked as to when those rude drums evolved, or were created? Now, when we study the music-materials of the primitive time, we find that the uncultured savage nations of the most antique days used to sing and dance to please themselves after retiring from their works. The songs and dances of the primitive peoples were very simple and monotonous, and the drums like bhūmi-dundubhi and dundubhi were also in use to keep the rhythms and beats of songs and dances. In the prehistoric time, we also find some remnants of crude drums and whistles of bone. It is most probable that the use of the drums, bhūmi-dundubhi and dundubhi etc. were revived. Besides the drums, many musical instruments of veenā and veņu classes were devised to suit the purpose of singing and dancing in the developed Vedic time. We also find that like the primitive days, bhūmi-dundubhi and dundubhi drums were struck with the rough wooden club, so as to produce grave and deep sounds. In the Vedic literature, we find the descriptions of those drums. Regarding bhūmi-dundubhi, the commentator Bhatta-bhāskara said: "charmanācchādita-mukham bhūgartam", which clearly describes the method of construction of the drum in the ground. In the Vājasaneyī-Samhitā, we find the same description of

Besides, we find the description of the musical instruments like vanaspati: "vanaspatayo vimuchadhvam" (-Vājasaneyī-Samhitā, 9.12). It seems that vanaspati was constructed out of a hollow trunk of a tree covered with skin. The Taittiriya-Samhitā says that vak entered into the wooden instrument, vanaspati, to declare or proclaim something: "sa vanaspatin preti" (6.1.25). The vāk means sound, and sound, accompanied by some news, good or bad, came out from the dundubhi, veenā or tunabha: "vāk vaņaspatisu vadati ya dundubhi ya tunabhe cha veenāyām". (T.S. 6.1.25). In the Kathaka-Samhitā (3.4.5), the demons and

the evil spirits were driven out by the sound of the vaṇaspati: "ya vaṇaspatiṣu vāk tan tena varunajate". The Vājasaneyī-Samhitā (30.10.19) has used the word adambara: "sabdaya adamvaragatam". Adambara is a musical instrument made up of udumbara wood. In the same Samhitā (8.69.9), the instrument gargara mentioned: "ava svarati gargareh". The gargara was known as a musical instrument to be used in war, and was sometimes known as raṇa-bheri or war-trumpet. Regarding gargara, the commentator Sāyana said: "gargaro gargara-dhvani-yukto vādhya-višeṣaḥ".

In the Samhitās, we find another musical instrument of the Vedic time, which is known as nadi and pinga: "pinga parichaniskadat". In the Rgveda (2.43.3), another musical instrument, called karkari, has been mentioned: "yadutpatan vadasi karakarah yathā". Sāyana admitted karkara or karkari as a musical instrument which was in use in the Vedic society. But from the reference of the Yajurveda 4.35.5: "āghātah karkarayā samvadanti", we know that karkari was known as clasping of the hands i.e. the sound produced by the clasping of the two hands, and this sound used to help the rhythm (tāla) of dance and music. In the Rgveda, we find also the mention of karkari. In some of the sacrificial functions and especially in the Simantonnayana ceremony, the unmarried maidens used to dance along with songs, keeping tāla by clasping of the hands, and they used to dance in a circle around the blazing sacrificial fire so as to please the presiding deities.

In the commentary of the Rk-mantra 10.146.2, Sâyana mentioned the names of some musical instruments of the Vedic time, which are āghāta, ghātalikā and kāṇḍa-veeṇā. The instrument nāḍī is found in the Rgveda (10.135.7): "dhamyate nāḍī". Nāḍī is a kind of flute (or harplike veeṇā). "nāḍī tunabha vadanti" (Rk. 10.35.5). Similarly the name of the hundred stringed veṇā, vāṇa, is mentioned in the Rgveda (1.85.10): "dhamanto vāṇam maruta". Sāyana said: "maruto vāṇam sata-saṃkhyābhiḥ yuktam veeṇā-viseṣaṃ dhamantaḥ vādayantaḥ". The strings (hundred) were made of grass (muñjā). In the Brāhmaṇa

period, kātyāyana-veenā was constructed on the design of the Vedic vāna. It is said that Muni Kātyāyana devised the kātyānī-veenā. It is also said that the seven tones (svaras) were used in both the veenā, vāna and kātyāyanī: "vānasya sapta dhātu vijajuah (Rk. 10.32.4). Sāyana said : "sapta chhandasi ritavo vā". Sayana meant chhanda by the word dhatu. Some are of the opinion that the word dhātu means notes or tones (svaras). Sāyana said that seven tones were used in the kāṇḍa-veeṇā: "taviḥ dhāvayan nisādādi-sapta-svaram sodhayan gāyakadi vā". We think that the view or comment of Sayana should carefully be examined to ascertain the real meaning, because the laukika tones, şadja, rşabha, gāndhara etc. evolved from the registertones (sthāna-svaras), anudātta, svarita and udātta in the post-Vedic age, and the post-Vedic tones prathama, etc. were quite different from the Vedic tones in their respective nature, movements and tonalities and it seems that Sāyana mistook laukika tones as the vaidika ones. In the Aitareya-Samhitā (5.1.5), we find that the wives of the performers of the sacrifices (Yājñikas) used to pluck the wires of the kānda-veenā, and one of the Princes struck the earthen drum (bhūmi-dundubhi) and all the singers sang the samans in unison: "anekena samna stavate" (5.15). Besides, in the Vedic literature, we find the names of many other musical instruments which were used in the Vedic time.

Notes and Scales of Vedic Music

We have already discussed that 'Vedic Music' is meant the music of the Sāmeveda, which is sāmagāna, that evolved out of the riks or rik-stanzas. The verses of the Rkveda were set to tunes and thus music evolved with a new form. Now, what is 'बाद च गोति: । * * हाउ इत्यादिकं साम यजुर्वे दे गीतम । * * पादेनार्धचेंनोपेता वृत्तवद्धा मन्त्रा: मानानि । He also described many of the sāmas or sāmans like rathantara, vṛhat, vairūpa, raivata, etc. Kātyāyana said: 'ऋचो यजु'पि सामानि निगदा मन्त्रा:' (११४४)।

Achārya Karka made explicit the meaning of the 'sāma' or sāman, when he says: 'भगोतं मन्त्रवाका सामेत्युच्यत । * * खतः पूर्वभवीतत्वाद्ग्णीतिरं सामराज्येनाभिन्तव्यते'। In the Sāmic period, the res or stanzas were sung and chanted either with three register or base notes, anudātta, svarita, and udātta. The register or base notes, anudātta, svarita, and udātta, or grave or bass, circumflex or medium, and high or acute were used as the accent-tones for the speech-music or recitation only. The sāman notes, prathama, etc. were quite distinct from them in their characteristic and tonal value. The authors of the Prātisākhyas said that the sāmans were the combination of vāc and prāṇa,—speech and vital air, which have been conceived as Puruṣā and Prakṛti in the Indian philosophy.

In the process of evolution of both the Vedic base notes or accent tones and the sāman tones, several strata are discernible. After the evolution of the five sāman notes, prathama, dvitīya, trtīya, chaturtha, and mandra, the octave i.e. saptaka was completed with addition of the lower sixth, atisvārya, and the upper seventh, kruṣta. Besides the principal notes, prathama, etc., there were some optional or secondary notes, such as, jātya or independent, abhinihita or absorbed, kṣipra or hastened, prasliṣta or constructed, etc. The principal notes were called the prakṛti ones, while the optional or secondary notes the vikṛti ones. The Taittirīya-prātišākhya further prescribes seven varieties of sound-tones for the sāmagāna. They are upānšu or inaudible, dhvani or murmur, nimada or whisper, upamidamat or numbling, mandra or soft, madhya or middle, tāra or loud.

^{4.} Shri K. Vāsudeva Śāstrī is of the opinion that it appears extremely probable that the notes of the Sāmaveda are all prakriti svaras, but with the shrutis constituting each svara or note arranged in a descending order so that the lowest sruti of each note become the dominant sruti of that note. Considered in this light, it will be found, if we take into account the composition of prakriti svaras that the lowest sruti of each svara is the highest one or very nearly that, of each of the notes of Kharaharapriyā or Kāfi.—The Science of Music (Tānjore, 1954), pp. 71-72.

The primitive songs were monotonous and recitative in nature, but gradually they were developed into music proper, with the development and growth of intellect and creative faculty of men in the society. Mainly three transitional phases are found in the evolution of songs of yore. They are: (a) speech, (b) speech-music or recitation, and (c) song proper. Vedic music was a developed and systematic one, and it possessed some rhythmic process and harmonic relation between the notes. The samans were sung in a descending order, and it may be said that it was the characteristic of the songs of the ancient nations of the world. The ancient Greek scale was in a descending order (avarohana-gati) like FEDCBAG. The Samavidhana-brahmana states : 'क्रष्टादहः उत्तरीत्तरं नीचा भवन्ति'। M. S. Rāmaswāmī Āiyār advanced six reasons in its favour. They are: (a) यः सामगानां प्रथमः स वेनोर्मध्यमः स्वरः etc., as advocated by Nārada in the Sikṣā, in the first century A.D., (b) क्र हाद्य: उत्तरोत्तरं नीचा भवन्ति, as advocated by the Sāmatantra, (c) तेषां दीप्ति-जोपलिन्धः, as stated by the Taittiriya-prātišākhya, XXIII. 14, (d) The fact that in vocal music, the telling notes are necessarily high, (e) The fact that the samagana is sung even today in a descending order, (f) The very nature of a seed is to sprout forth first, downward, and then, upward. Now, the pitches or tone-qualities of the notes of the sāmagāna were realised by their respective 'dīptiḥ' or 'gradual lightening up', which means the gradual sharpening or hightening. They are known as 'yamas' or regulators. Saunaka said in the Rk-prātisākya: सप्त स्वरा ये यमास्ते। The term 'yama' connotes the idea of 'controlling', 'collecting', or 'binding together'. This term was adopted by Patanjali (150 B.C) in his Yogasūtra (1.2.29), for controlling the senses, in order to prepare the ground for the attainment of perfect balance of mind as well as apprehension of the Divine intuition by an aspirant. Saunaka adopted it in the saman songs for controlling or bringing balance in the tunes or sweet sound-vibrations of the sāmagāna, and as the notes control or conduct the tunes of the samans, they are known as 'yama'.

The yamas are seven in number, and all the annotators and

commentators, including Saunaka, Nārada, Uvata and Sāyana have admitted these seven yamas or sāman notes. The seven notes were kruṣta, prathama, dvitīya, trtīya, chaturtha, mandra and atisvārya. Both Gārga Gopālayajjva and Prof. Whitney considered the trtīya or the third as the medium, and the upper seventh, first, and second notes as higher or sharper in gradation, i.e. utkṣipta, utkṣiptatara and utkṣiptatama, or sharp, sharper and sharpest, and the lower fourth, fifth and sixth notes as lesser or lower in gradation, i.e. avakṣipta, avakṣiptatara, and avakṣiptatama, or low, lower, and lowest. This process of gradual sharpening (dīpti) goes a long way to prove that the singers of the Vedic music used seven notes in their sāmagāna, though commonly three, four or five notes were used in most of the sāmans. The Puspasūtra also admits this fact, when it states,

एतैर्भावैस्तु गायन्ति सर्वाः शासाः पृथक्-पृथक् । पञ्चस्वेव तु गायन्ति भृषिष्ठानि स्वरेषु तु ॥ सामानि षट्षु चान्यानि सप्तम् द्वे तु कोथुमाः ।

From the above lines it is evident that different recensions (sākhās) of the Vedas used different numbers of note. Specially the Kauthuma recension used seven notes in two particular gānas: 'समस् स्वरेष हे सामानि गोयते कोश्रमः शास्त्रिनाम्'। It will thus be seen that the sāmans differed from one another in their modes and forms with regard to the use of different notes, and though the audava or pentatonic form of the sāmans were mostly sung by the Vedic singers, yet ṣādava or hexatonic, and sampūrņa or heptatonic forms of the sāmans were prevalent in the Vedic society. The notes of the sāmans were surcharged with exalted emotions, sublime sentiments, and mystic moods, which used to create a supra-mundane spiritual atmosphere during singing.

Nārada also described the seven sāman notes. He said that they were both in descending and reverse order such as; ma

ga ri sa/dha ni pa. He observed:

य सामगानां प्रथमः स वेणोर्मध्यमः स्वरः । यो द्वितीयः स गान्धारस्तृतीयस्त्वृषभः स्मृतः ॥

चतुर्थं पड्ज इत्याहुः पञ्चमो धैवतो भवेत् । पष्ठे निषादो विद्योयः सप्तमः पञ्चमः स्मृतः ॥

Nārada here mentioned two kinds of gānas, vaidika and laukika, in the terms of veenā and venu. The veenā (which belongs to the Western lyre class) was a very sacred musical stringed instrument of ancient India, having various forms, and used as a supporting instrument of the Vedic music, sāmagāna, whereas venu or vamsa (flute class of musical wind instrument, made of bamboo, wood or bone) was used as a supporting instrument of the folk as well as formalised laukika or desi music. Nārada's contention was that the notes of the veenā i.e. Vedic music were equivalent to those of the folk and formalised desi music. Nārada also determined five microtonal units like diptā, āyatā, karuņā, mṛdu and madyā for the notes, and they were afterwards recognised as the casual microtones or jatis of the twenty-two microtones, as devised by Muni Bharata, in the second century A.D. The notes used to manifest in three registers, and they possessed ten qualities like sukumāra, lāvanya, etc. (गानस्य तु दशनिधा गुणवृत्तिः). Though Nārada determines those microtonal units, registers and ten qualities for the laukika notes, yet they might be used also in the equivalent

Regarding the reverse order or vakra-gati mode of the sāman notes, some scholars differ in their opinions. Paṇḍit Lakṣmaṇa Śaṅkara Bhatta-Drāviḍa favoured the straight descending process, instead of the crooked one or vakra-gati scale, which is ma ga ri sa/ni dha pa. But M. S. Rāmaswāmī Āiyār and others favoured vakra-gati scale, which, according to them, has the confirmation of Nārada in his another statement: 'मादेशिन्यां त गान्धारः ऋषभस्तद्वनन्तरम्'। Rāmaswāmī Āiyār was of the opinion that Nārada's intentional reversal of the order of 'dha' and 'ni' created a new series of notes: 'pa ma ga ri sa dha ni', together with addition of kruṣta as the higher note than prathama, and the previous inversion of the pitch order of 'dha', and 'ni' was also maintained in the new series. And it is also found in most of the available readings of the Nāradīšikṣā of various private

collections that the reversal order of the notes of the sāmans (ma ga ri sa/dha ni pa) were maintained. But some scholars hold a different view. They say that according to the dictum of the Triratnabhāṣya: 'तेषां खल समयमानाम् उत्तरोत्तर-दोप्तिजा पूर्व-पूर्वीपत्तिच्धः स्वात्। तत् कथम्; अतिस्वार्य-दोप्तिजा मन्द्रोपत्तिच्धः, मन्द्रोश्चतुर्थीपत्तिच्धः, वत्तीयात दितीयः, दितीयात मथमः, पथमात क्रष्टः उपलभ्यते', the inverted order 'ma ga ri sa/dha ni pa' should be in the regular one like 'ma ga ri sa/ni dha pa', as we find in the ancient Greek scale, and this regular or uncrooked order has been maintained throughout in the slokas 8 to 14 of the Māṇḍuki-sikṣā of the Artharvaveda.

Savana devised altogether a different order of the saman notes, in his commentary on the Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa. He said : 'यो निषादः स क्र ष्टः, धैवतः प्रथमः, पञ्चमो द्वितीयः, मध्यम-स्तृतीयः, गान्धास्त्रतुर्थः, ऋषभो मन्द्रः, पङ्जोऽतिस्वार्य इति'। This arrangement of notes seems to be of later origin. It is generally found that the songs (gānas) always have their bases in the scales, and that the Samavedic scale was constituted out of the arrangements of the notes in different registers like bass, medium and high, and it has already been said that it was in the downward movement (avarohana-gati). Some maintained the view that there were two phases in the evolution of the Samavedic scale: 'first', said the philosopher-musicologist Thakur Jaidev Singh, 'in which only three or four notes were used, 'second', in which three more notes were added. Thus the full Samavedic scale of seven notes was evolved'. He further added: 'There is a further proof in support of the above theory. An analysis of the notation of various songs of the Samaveda clearly reveals the fact that most of the samans use only three to four notes, a few use five notes, very few six, and the samans using all the seven notes are extremely rare'. This has been supported by Nārada's another statement : '(दि) तृतीय-प्रथम-क्रष्टान कुर्वन्त्याष्ट्रवारका: स्वरान', etc.

The evolution of the scale of the sāmans is evident in the statements of both Yājñavalkya and Pāṇini, though they have

related them in the terms of laukika or dest notes of the later period. Yājñavalkya said:

उच्चौ निषादगान्धारौ नीचावृषभ धैवातौ । शोषास्तु स्वरिता ह्रोयाः षडज मध्यम-पञ्चमाः ॥ While Pānini stated.

> उदात्ते निपादगान्धारावानुदात्ते ऋषभधैवतौ । स्वरितः प्रभवा होते पडज-मध्यम-पञ्चमाः ॥

It has already been said that anudatta, svarita, and udatta, or grave, circumflex and high tones were the base notes or accent. tones, from which seven notes of both Vedic and desi music evolved. The svarita or circumflex was the gliding middle, and was regarded as the tonic of the early songs, and a descent from this tonic became anudatta or grave, and an ascent from the tonic became udātta or high. Svarita or circumflex i.e. tonic would, therefore, be the combination of the two, deep tone and high tone. Among the seven laukika or desi tones, reable and dhaivata (deśī) or trtīya and mandra (Vedic) evolved from the anudatta or grave accent-tone; niṣāda and gāndhāra (deśi) or atsvārya and dvitīya (Vedic) from the udātta or high, and şadja, madhyama and panchama (desi), or chaturtha, prathama and krusta (Vedic) from the svarita or circumflex. According to the dictum of the Rk-prātisākhya: 'त्रिषु मन्द्रादिषु स्थानेषु एकैकस्मिन सप्त-सप्त यमाः भवन्ति', three sets of seven notes of bass, medium and high (mandra, madhya and tāra) evolved to form the complete saptaka (octave) of both the Vedic and formalised desi music. Thus we get the following medium or madhya-saptaka scale

anudātta ri, dha,	svarita	udātta
2 6 (grave)	sa, ma, pa, 1 4 5	ni, ga
(grave)	(medium)	(high)

The madhya-saptaka scale of the Vedic notes,

anudātta		svarita			udātta	
tṛtīya,	mandra,	chaturtha,	prathama,	krușta,	atsvārya,	dvitīya
3	5	4	1	7	6.	2
(,	grave)	(1	nedium)	20	(h	igh)

Those, who are inclined to consider vaidika krusta corresponds laukika madhyama, prathama gandhara, etc., arrange the notes, vaidika and laukika as follows:

2					p r athama—	ग
svarita -	म	स	ч		dvitīya—	रि
				S ₂	tṛtīya—	स
udātta—	ग		नि		chaturtha-	नि
					mandra—	ध
anudātta—	रि		ध		atisvārya—	ч
					krusta—	म ⁵

but if we follow Nārada's order : 'यः सःमगानां प्रथमः सः वेणोर्मध्यमः स्वरः' etc., we get the descending order as,

5. Shri K. Vāsudeva Śāstrī of Tānjore says as regards the notes of the Sāmaveda: "The Sāma-Veda is said to be constructed with the help of seven notes. They are equated in the Śikṣā of Nārada with Ma Ga Ri Sa Ni Dha and Pa. But when the Sāma-Veda is chanted, we are not reminded of any secular rāga. The identification of the notes of the Sāma-Veda with particular notes, naturals sharps or flats, of secular music has given rise to an amusing number of conjeures. The most plausible one is to equate them to the notes beginning from Ga of Kharaharapriyā of the South which is same thing as Kāfi of the North. But it is also plain that neither of the two rāgas are brought to our mind when we hear the Sāman chant".— Vide The Science of Music (1954), p. 71.

However, in every case, both the seven notes can be arranged to form a complete scale. The equivalent of the series of the laukika or desi notes to those of the vaidika ones can be found from the statements of Uvata, in connection with the 44th aphorism of the Rk-prātišākhya:

Firstly—ये ते सप्त-स्वराः षडज-ऋषभ-गान्धार-मध्यम-पञ्चम-धैवत-निषादाः स्वराः इति
गान्धर्ववेदे समाम्नाताः।

Secondly—तथा सामसु—क्रुष्ट-प्रथम-द्वितीय-तृतीय-चतुर्थ-मन्द्रातिस्वार्या इति ते यम्

Thus it is clear that anudātta, svarita, and udātta have been regarded as the sthāna-svaras, i.e. register or accent tones, and the complete scale of the seven notes, both laukika and vaidika, evolved not only as the medium one (madhya-saptaka scale), but also as the bass or mandra, and high or tāra sets of saptakas or scales.

There were many modes of singing of the sāmagānas because their different renderings, and six vikāras or variations in intona tion were common in them. The six vikāras were vislesana, vikar ana, abhyāsa, virāma, and stobha. As for example, to na. the verse of the Rkveda : अग्न आयाहि बीयते गृणानी हन्यदात्ये। लति बहिष, etc. five variations in intonation, with some additional letters like औ, होवा, हाउ हाउ तीय (stobhas) etc., which were known as stobhas, were used. Four kinds of sama. gāna were prevalent in the Vedic period, and they were known as grāmegeya or praktti-gāna, aranyegeya-gāna, uhagāna, and ūhyagāna or rahasya-gāna. The notes of the gānas (sāmagānas) were indicated by the numerals of the letters, 1, 2, 3, etc., and they were shown by the help of the fingers of the hands, to detect the correct singing or rendering of the samans. The rhythm and tempo were kept by the undulation of the head and different limbs of the body. The sāmans were generally sung before the sacrificial altars and specially in the somayaga, in laudation of the Vedic deities. Besides these, they were also sung during different sacred rites and functions. It has been said by Arnold Bake that at the actual sacrifices "a

hymn is executed by three priests who sing its seven divisions alone or in chorus. The priests, to whom the singing of the Sāmaveda is allotted, are the *Udgātar* with his two acolytes, the *Prastotar* and the *Pratihartar*. The introductory part, the *Huṃkāra* (the singing of the syllable *huṃ*), is done by the three together. Then follow: 2, the *Prastāva*, or prelude, sung by the *Prastotar*; 3, the *Udgītha*, or main theme, by the *Udgātar*; 4, the *Pratihāra*, the first responsorium, by the *Pratihartar*; 5, the *Upadrava*, second responsorium, again by the *Udgātar*; the *Nidhāna*, or final chorus, by the three priests in unision; and finally, 7, the *Praṇava*, the chanting of the syllable *Oṃ*, also in chorus, which seals the hymn like Amen".

Method of Singing of the Samans

It has been said before that when the Rk-stanzas were set to tune with the Vedic tones, prathama, dvitīya, trtīya, chaturtha, mandra, atisvārya and kruṣta, which evolved and developed in a gradual process, sāmagāna came into being in the Vedic society. But certain changes happened in the structure of the sāmantexts when they were rendered in singing, and the changes were, as Principal Jaideva Singh suggested in his article, Sāmavedic Music:

"The hymns of the Rgveda were set to music in but certain structural changes were made in the hymns when they were given a musical setting in important changes were the following:

"1. Vikāra—Changes in the letters of the Rgved? wo. (1) the Sāmavedic setting e.g., 'Agne' of Rgveda recoming 'Ognāi' in Sāmavedic rendering.

2. Visleşana—A Rgvedic word is broken into parts in Sāmavedic setting, e.g. 'Vitaye' of Rgvedic text becoming 'Voi-tayā 2 yi' in Sāmavedic song.

6. Vide, The Bases of Indian Culture, published by the Rāmakrishna Vedānta Math, Calcutta, as a Commemoration Volume of Swāmī Abhedānanda (on the occasion of his centenary celebration).

- 3. Vikarşana—The vowel of a Rgvedie word being lengthened in Sāmavedic song, e.g., 'ye' becoming 'Ya 2 3 yi' in Sāmavedic rendering.
- 4. Abhyāsa i.e. repetition, e.g. singing 'toya 2 yi' twice as 'toya 2 yi, toya 2 yi'.
- 5. Virāma—Pause. Singing part of a word after a pause, e.g. of the phrase 'grananohavyadataye', one is to sing 'granano ha', and then after a short pause, 'vya dataye'.
- 6, Stobha—Introduction of exclamatory words in the midst of a song, for example, the introduction of exclamatory words like auhovā, hāu hāu etc. in the midst of a particular song."

Gradually there evolved a fixed system of notation (svaralipi) which was numerical, and the notes of the sāmagāna were used to be indicated by the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. It is true that the sāmans were used to be sung in pentatonic scale with five tones. But some of the recensions (sākhās) used one or two more tones in their scale, and the Prātisākhya of the Sāmaveda, Puṣpasūtra and also the Nāradīšikṣā say that the Kauthuma-sākhā used six and sometimes seven tones in the sāmagāna. So, if we take the sāman-scale of the Kauthuma recension, we find that the figure 1 indicates prathama note which is equal to madhyama note of the laukika or post-Vedic music according to the rule as set by Nārada of the Sikṣā (in the 1st century A.D.): 'यः सामगाना प्रथम: सार विशोद स्वार : देवर:' etc. The word veņu indicates the formalised desī or laukika type of music. However the Vedic notes are indicated by the figures as follows:

Numerical figu	ire.	Vedic tone	
1			Laukika tone
2	(tell place	prathama	madhyama
3		dvitīya	gāndhāra
4		tṛtīya	rşabha
5	•••	chaturtha	şadja
TO THE PARTY OF	the miles of the	madra	dhaivata
6		atisvārya	niṣāda
7	•••	krușta	pañchama

As the Vedic tones (notes) are in descending, i.e. downward movement, so it has already been said that their forms will be:

ma ga ri sa dha (bass), ni (bass) and pa (bass).

So the numerical figures as given on the top of the Rk-mantras, indicate the tones or notes. There are five components in the Sämavedic songs, and they are (it has already been mentioned): humkāra or himkāra, prastāva, udgīta, pratihāra and nidhāna. Nārada of the Śikṣā said that the sāmans used to be sung as the basis of mūrechanā, jāti, mātrā, rasa and bhāva. And it should be noticed that if there is an avagraha after a particular letter, it means that the letter has two mātrās. An example of the Sāmavedic songs is given hereunder:

१ - २।३११र ।३१२।३१२। (1) ऋगातत्स विदुर्वरेण्यभगेदिवस्य

> १ २३१।२ ई१२। धीमही । धीयोयो नः प्रचाद्वात ।

This gāyatrī-sāma should be sung at present with the desi or laukika notes as:

अं इतम् । तत्सविदुर्भरोनियो इम्॥ सा - निरि! रिरिरि रिरिंगिर ० रि - रि

भ गों देव स्य भी मही ऽ२॥ रिहि-हिहि हि-हि - हिसा-।

धियो यो नः प्रची १२१२॥ सारि रिरि रि्सा - रिल्सारिसा।

हिम्- आ२॥ दायो ॥ अग्रऽ३४४॥ रिहिरि-सा- । हिरिः सानि्≒र्ध्पः

= दीर्घ ६ । पर्व ६ । मात्रा ५

इति प्रकृतिसप्तगानागभुतं गायत्रम्यं प्रथमं गानं।।

Now it should be noted that very ancient type of singing of the samans was current with only three notes, जि दि सा i.e. जि is bass, दि and सा are in the medium place. Gradually

four and five notes were in use, and the Kauthuma recension used two more notes i.e. sixth and seventh to enrich the system of their singing.

In this connection, it should be remembered that the name $S\bar{a}m$ or $s\bar{a}man$ is not named after the $des\bar{i}$ or laukika notes, $s\bar{a}$ and $m\bar{a}$. It is true that the $des\bar{i}$ type of songs of the uneducated and common people were in practice in the society, and the sophisticated and formalized classical (high way) type of songs evolved on the background of them. The Vedic music was recognized as the formalized one, as it used to follow some rules and methods.

Music in the Prehistoric Time

We know that from the diggings of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa mounds that many of the valuable things like seals, sacred tank, dolls of the deities, musical instruments like crude-type flutes, lute or Veenā. Stuart Piggot said: 'Cymbals were used to accompany dancing, ** there were reed flutes or pipes, a stringed instrument of the lute class, and a harp or lyre, which is mentioned as having seven tones or notes **. There is good evidence that these instruments were constructed according to the heptatonic scale (seven notes)* *.'7

Rāy Bāhādur K. N. Dikṣit said: 'Some of the pictographs appear to be representations of a crude stringed instrument, a prototype of the modern Veeṇā; while a pair of castanets, like the modern karatāla, have also been found'. Different kinds of drum and a bronze dancing girl were discovered. It is striking to note that the lute or Veeṇā with some strings prove that the musical sense of the Indus Valley people was keen and artistic. Stuart Piggot admitted that there is a good evidence that some of the musical instruments were constructed according to heptatonic (sampūrņa) scale, with seven notes. But it should be mentioned in this connection that though a

^{7.} Cf. Prehistoric India (1950), pp. 270-271.

^{8.} Cf. Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley (Madras, 1939), p. 30.

crude prototype of a modern Veenā was found there, it cannot be asserted with any degree of certainty that the practice of seven notes was current in the prehistoric Indian society. For clarification, Piggot's statement is quoted below: "There is some interesting evidence for Aryan music. Cymbals were used to accompany dancing, and in addition to this and the drum there were reed flutes or pipes, a stringed instrument of the lute class, and a harp or lyre, which is mentioned as having seven tones or notes". 'It refers only to an instrument of Vedic times mentioned in the Rgveda, but not to any instrument from Harappa sites' said Sri S. R. Rao, M.A., Superintendent, Dept. of Archæology, Excavation Branch, Nagpur. I take the opportunity to offer my sincere thanks to Sri Rao, for drawing my attention to the above fact (vide his D.O. letter No. 14/1/59-4250, dated the 4th Dec. 1959).

We find similar instances in prehistoric Mesopotamian and Sumerian civilization and culture. Curt Sachs was of the opinion that though very few musical instruments were excavated in Mesopotamia, and most of them were found in the royal cemetery at Ur, Abraham's native town, yet many reliefs and plaques, seals and mosaics, from a period extending over three thousand years, depict musical scenes, where pipes or lutes with different holes were to be found. Dr. Henry George Farmer, while dealing on the music of ancient Mesopotamia, said that from early Sumerian to late Assyrian days, music was part and parcel of social life in Mesopotamia. 'From the time of Ashur-naşir-pal III (c. 883-859 B.C.) we get ample lithographic material on musical instruments. The British Museum bas-reliefs also illustrate the artistic interests of Ashur-bāni-pal (668-626 B.C.)'. Dr. Farmar said that "the cordophone group of Mesopotamian instruments reveals types of the highest interest to musicologists. Perhaps the most remarkable are the harp and kithara family; the evolutionary stages of the harp are particularly fascinating. ** In the first, found on a slab from Khafāja (c. 2700 B.C.), now at Chicago.* * Similar examples (c. 2600 and 2500 B.C.) are at Philadelphia. ** The second form, with a separate bow-shaped neck fixed to a horizontal sound-chest, was not unlike the Burmese saun. It is delineated on a vase from Bismaya (c. 3000 B.C.) at Stamboul, although there is an actual specimen from Ur (twenty-fifth century B.C.) at the British Museum. The instrument of the foremost player on the Bismaya vase has only seven strings whilst the Ur instrument has eleven. The former may relate to the sibitu (seven stringed harp)* *'." Woolley, Galpin, and Curt Sachs also admitted this fact.

Regarding the heritage of the instruments, found in Mesopotamia, Ur, Sumeria, Greece and other places, Dr. Farmer said that Terpander was of the opinion that the lyre had four strings until he made them seven (iii. 67), which Strabo seems to confirm. 'Whence did this inspiration come? Could it have been Babylon? If we can trust pseudo-Plutarch (De musica. iii, xviii), it would appear that the Greeks at this time were most conservative in musical matters. Bethus said that it was the seven plants which suggested the number of strings that agreed with a Mesopotamian origin. Instruments of music found their way into Greece from the Orient in large numbers. Strabo said: 'And those writers who have consecrated to whole of Asia, as far as India, to Dionysus, derive the greater part of music from there.' But it is interesting to mention that the editors of The New Oxford History of Music fought shy of a truth when they did not admit their debt to India's contribution, as they said in the footnote that the term 'India' meant countries much nearer, (vide Cosmographia Ethici, p. 28) with the additions by Julius Honorius (p. 7). Even the ecclesiastical historians call the Arabs 'Indians'. However, it is a fact that some of the developed musical instruments were found in the most ancient pre-historic cities like Mahenjo-daro, Harappa and Channu-daro, and some notes with scales were known to those people. Dancing was also prevalent in the Indus Valley cities. Rāi Bāhādur Diksit said that besides dancing, it appears that music was cultivated among the Indus people, and it seems probable

that the earliest stringed instruments and drums are to be traced to the Indus civilization'.

It has been mentioned in the Sikşās and the Prātisākhyas that evolution of the seven notes were completed in the early Vedic time. But the crude stringed lute or Veenā, excavated from the mounds of Mohenjo-daro, was not a genuine evidence and landmark in tracing out the culture of the socalled pre-historic Indus cities, which was perhaps uninterruptedly connected with the Vedic culture. We are glad to know that some of the modern archæologists and historians have found out some similarities of culture and civilization between the antique Indus Valley cities and the Vedic society.

But it is difficult to know the definite forms of music of the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa peoples, and some of the features and characteristics of their music can be guessed only through the light of the Vedic music, the form and culture of which extended down to 600-500 B.C.

The expert singers and chanters of the Vedic age knew fully well the specific laws and methods of application of the three registers: bass, medium and high i.e., mandra, madhya and tāra. The three ancient register-notes or sthanasvaras, raised, notraised and balancing circumflex i.e. udātta, anudātta and svarita came to be used as three kinds of pitches of speaking as well as of singing voices. Rhythm and tempo were used in accordance with different types of feet of the Vedic metres, gāyalrī, jagatī, anustupa, etc. The time-measure or tāla was observed in hymnal songs and in different types of samagana in two different ways, with beat and without beat i.e. sa-sabda and nis-sabda. The sa-sabda time measure was kept with the clapping of hands and the nis-sabda one by wavering of the hands or different limbs of the body. From these two fundamental time-measures or time-observing processes there evolved various kinds of timemeasure in the gandharva or marga type of music in the classical period.

Music in Classical Period

600-500 B.C. is an epoch-making period, and it can be said to be an age of renaissance. At the advent of the classical period there evolved a new type of music, known as gandharva. It was constructed out of the materials and principles of the Vedic music, sāmagāna. Bharata of the second century A.D. traced the traditional link between the music, vaidika and laukika i.e., sāmagāna and classical gāndharva, in connection with the compilation of his Natyasastra. Music was an indispensible adjunct of ancient Sanskrit plays. The gandharva type of music was considered as sacred and celestial like the Vedic music, and so it was known as 'mārga'. The term 'mārga' suggests the idea of searching ('mrg-anveşane') and collecting, i.e., mārga connotes the idea that most of the materials of the Vedic music were searched for and collected (saingrhīta) and then were applied to the classical gandharva type of music. The practice of the Vedic music became gradually obsolete, as it did not suit the taste of the progressive people of the classical society.

In the Sangita-Darpana, the 'highway' music is called as 'mārga', because it was followed by Siva or Druhina and was practised (prayuktam) by Bharata. In Dhanañjaya's Daśarūpa (I.15), dancing is called as 'mārga', as it displays the meaning of words by means of gestures. In the Satapatha-Brāhmaņa (III. 2.4), sacred music is mentioned as distinct from profane music, in connection with the seduction of Vak 'who is won over from the Gandharvas by the Devas'. Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy said: "Now the word mārga, rendered above by 'highway' derives from mrg, to chase or hunt, especially by tracking. In the Rgveda, it is familiar that what one hunts and tracks by its spoor, is always the deity, the hidden light, the occulted Sun and Agni, who must be found, and is sometimes referred to as lurking in his lair. This is so well-known that a very few citations will suffice. In Rv. VIII. 2.6 men are said to pursue (mrgayante) Indra, as one pursues a wild beast (mrgam na), with offerings of milk and

kine (which may be compared to bait); in Rv. VII. 87.6, Varuna is compared to a 'fierce beast' (mrgas tuvişman); in Rv.X.46.2 the Bhrgus, eager seekers after Agni, track him by his spoor (padaih) like some lost beast (pasun na naştam). Mārga is then the creature's 'runway', the 'track to be followed' (padaviya) by the vestigium pedis. One sees thus clearly what values are implied in the expression mārga, 'Way', and how inevitably that which is mārga is likewise vimukti-da, since it is precisely by the finding of the Hidden Light that liberation is effected.''

Further he mentioned: "Desi', on the other hand, deriving from dis, to 'indicate', and hence dis, 'region' or 'quarter', is 'local'; cf. desam nivis, to 'settle' in a given locality, desa vyavahāra or desāchāra, 'local custom', 'way of the world', and desya, 'native'. * * loka, 'world', is etymologically Latin locus, a place defined by given conditions; the laukika, 'mundane' is literally 'local'; * * From the celestial or solar point of view, desi is thus mundane, human and devious, as distinct from super-mundane, divine and direct, * * . We think it has now been made sufficiently clear that the distinction of mārga from desi is not necessarily a distinction of aristocratic and cultivated from folk and primitive art, but one of sacred and traditional from profane and sentimental art'.9

In the beginning of the classical period, there evolved a new jāti type of music, which was mainly connected with the performance of drama, and so it was known as the stage-song or nātyagīti i.e., a type of melodic song applicable to drama. It is said that two great authors, Brahmā and Brahmābharata and Sadāśiva or Sadāśivabharata flourished between 600 and 500 B.C. and they wrote or compiled two new types of dramas, Brahmābharatam and Sadāśivabharatam, in which some chapters were devoted to music. Bharata of the second century A.D. followed them and collected most of the materials from their

^{9.} Vide Dr. Coomaraswamy: Christian and Oriental Philosophy of Art (Dover Publications Inc., 1956), pp.133-138.

^{10.} Abhinavagupta said : '**एतेन सदाश्चिवव्रव्यवस्तमतत्रविविचनेन**'।

dramas, and so his Nātyašāstra is known by the name samgraha-grantha or 'collection'.

The newly evolved jātirāga-songs were known as the pure parent type of music of the beginning of the classical age, and they were named after the initial letters of the seven laukika or dešī notes, şadja, rṣabha, gāndhāra, etc. They were possessed of ten characteristics like sonant (vādī or amsa), consonant (samvādī), assonant (anuvādī), melodic movements or varnas, spanning of the scale or mūrcchanā, notes like initial (graha) and final (nyāsa), etc. The jātis were both melodies and songs themselves, like the ragagitis, as mentioned by Matanga of the fifth-seventh century, but the jatis were the source or forerunners of both the grāmarāgas and the rāgagītis. The jati type of melodies had their full play in the ancient scales (grāmas) like şadja, gāndhāra and madhyama, with three registers or sthanas and successions of notes, in their ascending and descending orders. They were impregnated with eight emotional sentiments and moods. Different musical instruments like lute or Veenā, flute or Venu, cymbal and different types of drum followed them. In the Rāmāyana (400 B.C.), we find the practice of pure seven jātirāga-gānas. The wandering Bards, Kuśa and Lava, were efficient in both Vedic and classical types of music, and they were trained by their

Between 400 and 200 B.C. their evolved another new type of melodic song, grāmarāga. It has already been said that the grāmarāga-songs were constructed out of the jātirāgas of different grāmas. The grāmas evolved out of the cluster or succession of notes. From the Nāradīšikṣā of the first century A.D. we know that seven kinds of scale evolved and gave rise to seven types of melodies like grāmarāgas. The seven types of scales and melodies are: ṣādava, paūchama, ṣadjagrāma, madhyamagrāma, sādhārita, kaišika and kaišika-madhyama. The existence of these seven ancient scale are fully supported by the Kudumiamalai Cave-Inscription, installed by the Pallava King Mahendravarman, in the early Chālukyan period, seventh

century A.D. In Mahābhārata (300 B.C.) and Harivaṃṣsa (200 B.C.), we find the practice of six grāmarāgas: 'ṣaḍ-grāma rāgādi samādhi-yuktaṃ'. These grāmarāgas had their full play even in the third gāndhāragrāma: 'ā-gandhāra-grāmarāgaṃ', which was rendered obsolete in the Christian era. The prabandha type of classical Brahmagītis and Kapālagītis also evolved at that time, the full descriptions of which are mentioned in the Śāraṅgadeva's encyclopædic work Saṅgīta-Ratnākara of the early thirteenth century. These new types of Brahmagītis were aparāntaka, ullopya, sarovindu, uttara, tk, gāthā, pānik, etc. It is said that they were devised by Brahmābharata, the first propagator of the gāndharva music. Śāraṅgadeva said that the Brahmagītis were practised with jāti or grāma rāgas of different scales, registers, rhythms and tempi.

In the beginning of the Christian era, we come across the Siksā literature, which dealt mainly with metres and tunes of the Vedic stanzas (rcs). Some of the Siksās are very important for the classical music also. The Nāradīšikṣā described both vaidika and laukika music. It deals with seven kinds of melody and scale, which have been mentioned before. Besides the seven melodies or grāmarāgas, we find that there evolved five microtones, which served the basic notes of the tonal forms of the gandharva music, and it has been said before that they were: diptā, āyatā, mrdu, madyā and karuņā. The names of the socalled microtones were given, according to their respective inherent sentiments and mood; as for example, the microtone diptā signifies shining, glowing or heroic mood, which means the sentiment vīra; āyatā signifies broadness, which means tānta; midu signifies softness or slackness, which means jugupsā or vibhatsa; madhyā signifies intermediate or balancing, which means hāsya, and karuņā signifies compassion, which means karuņā. fact, all the eight æsthetic sentiments, as described by Bharata, were the inherent qualities of the microtones, and from these, evolved the latter twenty-two microtones, chandovati, etc. The microtones are useful for determining the correct intonations of the tones, their bases or grounds and, consequently, the grāmas

or scales. They are very signficant and meaningful, because they determine the emotive nature of the melodies or rāgas.

During the time of Bharata (second century A.D.), though the gāndharva type of music played an important role in the domain of Indian music, yet a tendency of rectifying or formalizing the tribal and regional tunes was found among the progressive communities of people. Bharata devised eleven mixed or samkīrņa jātirāgas and jātirāga-gītis, with all the characteristics and angas, and, therefore, in his time, eighteen types of jātirāgas and gītis were in practice. The four types of regional but classical songs, māgadhī, ardha-māgadhī, sambhā-bitā and prthulā also evolved, and they were sung along with the jātis and sacred dhruvāgītis. Some of the hymnal dhruvāgītis, which were sung in praise of the gods, were known as the 'samkīrtana', with the name of which we are familiar during the time of Vaiṣṇava movement in Bengal, in the sixteenth-eighteenth century A.D.

Bharata developed twenty-two śrutis or audible subtle notes, based upon the genus-species (janya-janaka) principle and built the whole system upon the basis of the so-called five microtones, as described by Nārada of the Sikṣā. Bharata discovered the srutis by the help of two same-sized Veenās, shiftable and fixed i.e., chala and achala. The Vedic musical instruments, kāšyapī or kacchapī, kṣauni, kinnarī, audumvarī, ghoṣakā, vāna and the latter evolved kālyāyanī with hundred strings, picchorā or piccholā, etc. were developed or moulded into new forms. Some of them were replaced by newly devised Veenās like Dāravi, Gātra, Chitrā, Vipañchi, etc. The practice of flute or pipe (Venu) was survived with its old traditional glory throughout the ages. The Vedic drum was modified to some extent, and out of it, the puşkara or mrdanga type of drum evolved, which accompanied the ganas, jātirāga, grāmarāga, dhruvā, etc. Different kinds of time-measures like samā, srotogatā, and gopucchā evolved with different units or kalās like chitrā, vārtika, and daksiņā. Other kinds of jātis like vişama, mrdanga, pluta also came into being. The jātis used to keep pace with the musical movements.

Like dramatic play and different types of prabandha-gitis, classical dances with different hand-poses and gestures and postures evolved as part and parcel of the dramatic music. Bharata used two terminologies, nrtta and nrtya for dance, of which the former signified the dance devoid of emotional sentiments (rasa) and moods (bhāva) and was based on sheer physical gestures and movements, supported by rhythm and tempo (tāla and laya), while the latter conveyed both sentiment and mood. This distinction as well as their significance have been made clear by Dhanika, Dhanañjaya and Abhinavagupta. During the time of Abhinavagupta, at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century A.D., there evolved seven types of dance or nrtto, which were accompanied by gita and vādya. The seven types of netta were: suddha, gītādiabhinayonmukha, gāna-vādya-tālānusāri, uddhānta, misraņa, misraand misra-misrana. From the uddhanta-nṛtta, the tāndava type and from the sukumāra-nītta, the lāsya type of dances evolved. Again from tāndava and lāsya, different kinds of classical dance evolved with their specific movements of the body and the hand-poses.

After Bharata, Kohala, Yāṣtika, Durgāśakti, Dattila, Śārdula, Matanga and other musicologists formulated many new types of melody. Especially in the fourth-seventh century, there was a new revival in Indian music, with the evolution of numerous sophisticated regional and tribal tunes. Some of the foreign non-Aryan tunes like śaka, śaka ilaka, śaka-miśrita, turuṣka, turuṣka-toḍi, turuṣka-gauḍa, pulindikā etc. were included into the Aryan stock. The śakarāga was the national tune of the Scythians. Yāṣtika and Matanga discussed about those five kinds of regional gīti, and they were; śuddhā, bhinnā or bhinnakā, vesarā, gauḍa and sādhārita. Those types of rāga-gīti were known by their respective tunes or rāgas.

Two new and novel 'ideas evolved during Matanga's time, and they were the philosophical concept of the theory of musical sound and the sastric and scientific definition of the melodies. Though melody type or raga was in practice from

the pre-Christian era, yet Matanga for the first time determined its specific meaning and definition, in the fifth-seventh century A.D. He mentioned about seventy-three types of subordinate melodies or bhāṣā-rāgas, and they were mostly regional and aboriginal in nature.

During the times of Kohala, Yāstika, and Matanga, the Gupta Rulers were in full power. It is said that the poet Kālidāsa flourished at that time, though there is a dispute among the historians regarding his date. Kālidāsa gave the murcchanas a very high place, and during his time, the murcchanas of the gandhara-grama, survived among the communities of Gandharva, Yakşa and Kinnara. The mangala-prabandha-ganas were also in practice in his time. They were also practised in the pre-Christian era, but the special feature of the sacred mangalagīti of the time of Kālidāsa was that it was sung with one traditional kaišikī and one regional botta-rāgas. or rāga botta evolved in the land of the Himalāyan Bhutiās i.e. the Bhotadesas like Tibet, Bhutan, etc. From this it is understood that there was a cultural and commercial link between India and Bhotadeśa. Many of the dramatic music and dances evolved during the time of Kālidāsa, and they were gīlis like dvipadīkā, jambhalikā, khanda dhārā, etc. and dances like khuraka, khandaka valantikā, and galitakā, etc.

In the ninth-eleventh century, during the time of the Jaina musicologist Pārśvadeva, two kinds of ālapti, rāgalapti and rūpakalapti, evolved which formed the basic ground of the manifestation of the tonal forms of the rāgas. The tunes of the aboriginal Himalāyan tribe, Bhirava: Bhairava and Bhairavī were introduced into the Aryan stock, and they were afterwards recognized as the prominent melodies in the classical type of music. Besides them, variants of tunes or melodies of varāti, todī, gauda, gurjarī, etc., and those of śrī and krī stocks, evolved to enrich the treasure of Indian classical music.

In the early thirteenth century, the South Indian musicologist Śāraṅgadeva formulated twelve kinds of displaced or chromatic note, in addition to the pure seven notes. Before him, only two displaced or vikṛta notes, antara-gāndhāra and kākali-niṣāda, were current in the system of Indian music. During his time, we notice that the five limbs (angas) of the Vedic music, prastāva, udgītha, pratihāra, upadrava and nidhāna were used with their new names, udgrāha, anudgrāha, sambandha, druvaka and ābhoga as the music-parts or dhātus of the prabandha-gītis. But their names and forms were again changed to some extent, towards the sixteenth-seventeenth century A.D.

Besides them, we find a systematic order in the forms and divisions of the classical ragas and gitis. As regards the evolution of classical types of melodies, we come to know from Matanga's Brhaddesi that the subordinate bhasa type melodies evolved from the ancient parent scales or gramas, the vibhāṣā-rāgas from the bhāṣā ones and the antarabhāṣā-rāgas from the vibhāṣā ones. Śārangadeva brought a more perfect order in the divisions of the ragas and the prabandha-gitis. The six kinds of limb or anga of the prabandha-gitis evolved at that time, and they are: svara, viruda, pada, tena, pata and tala. These iimbs or angas really determined the nature and characteristics of the gitis. Gradually the five kinds of jāti evolved to specifically classify and determine the musical compositions of the gitis, and they were : medini, anandi, dipani, bhavani and tārāvalī (vide SR. canto IV. 19). The musical compositions were mainly divided into two classes, ordered or niryukta and without order or aniryukta. The three divisions of the prabandha type of music evolved, and they were of three classes, sūda, ālī and vipraktrna. From these three classes, 7+24+34=65 types of new prabandha-giti evolved. From these, many other subordinate types of prabandh i-giti came into being. All these classical prabandhas were included under three heads, suddha, chāyālaga and samkirna or kşudra. The above-mentioned dhruvaka type of the prabandha-gīti may be the forerunner of the present dhruvapada type of music. This type was revived by Rājā Mān of Gwalior, Nāyaka Gopāl, Bāiju Bāorā and other eminent artists and lovers of music. The ksudra-giti might have been evolved from the dhruvaka-prabandha, and from the ksudra-giti

evolved chitrapadā, chitrakalā, the present types of modified dhruvapada and pāūchālī. Regarding evolution of these types, there are different opinion among the scholars. Ghana-śyāma-Narahari of the early eighteenth century mentioned the types of the pāūchālī-gītis in his Saigītasāra-saigraha. The contribution of Bengal, in the domain of melodies, was also immense.

Besides the rāgas, various types of time-measure or tāla evolved at this time, with different time-units or mātrās like hrasva, dīrgha and pluta, different features like kalā, mārga, piņda, anga, graha and different jātis like caturasra, tisra, miśra, khanda and samkīrna. Besides, various types of lute, flute and drum, a new type of lute or Veenā was devised by Sārangadeva himself, and it was known as the Nisśanka-Veenā.

Music in post-Classical Period

About the close of the thirteenth century, Āmir Khasrau, the Persian Poet and court-musician of Sultān Ālā-ud-dindevised some new types of melody and musical instrument. He introduced some Persian scales and melodies and some of the Qāwāli type of regional songs in Indian classical stock.

In the sixteenth-seventeenth century, Vṛndāvana and Mathurā became new seats of culture of Indian classical music. Swāmi Kṛṣṇadāsa, Swāmi Haridāsa and other Vaiṣṇava savants revived a new style and form of the prabandha, dhruvapada. Emperor Akbar helped much to enrich the culture of the dhruvapada. Miān Tānsen was a great artist and patron of traditional as well as newly moulded form and technique of the dhruvapada type. It is said that Tānsen introduced the Senī style of music during Akbar's time. Some are of the opinion that the Senī style of dhruvapada evolved after his death through his worthy descendants. The contribution of religio-devotional type of bhajana of Mīrā Bāi, Suradās, Kavīra and others were made at this time. A new type of prabandha music, Horī-Dhāmāra also evolved in connection with the sacred Holi festival of Vṛndāvana.

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Gradually the kheyāt type of song evolved with a new style and embellishment by the side of the dhruvapada, to suit the taste of the progressive society. It was more imaginative and decorative, but light in its form than the dhruvapada. It was first introduced by Sultān Hussan Sharqi of Jaunpur and then developed by Rangile Niyāmat Khān, the Veenkār. Next thumri, with its three styles—Lucknow, Banaras and Punjābi—evolved to enrich Indian music, and it had an intense æsthetic appeal. Gradually dādrā, sādrā, tappā, tārāṇā, gazat and such other light but decorative types of song came into being.

As regards the evolution of basic scales or melas, we find that from the beginning of the classical period (600 B.C.) the grāmas played an important role as the basic scales. Afterwards the mūrcchanās that evolved from the grāmas, played the role of those grāmas to determine the specific forms or structures of the ragas. In the fourteenth-sixteenth century, fifteen parent scales or melas evolved through Madhava-Vidyaranya, the renowned Vedantist of the Sankara school. 1550, twenty basic scales evolved as the source of a host of melodies in the time of Pundarika-Vitthala. Pundarika was contemporary to Emperor Akbar. It should be reminded that new nomenclatures of the scale 'mela' or 'thata' came into being in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Pandit Somanath (1609 A.D.) was credited with coining the term 'mela' and 'thata'. We find in his Rāgabivodha the lines: 'milanti vargī-bhavanti rāgā yatreti tadāsrayāķ svarasamasthāna-višesā melāķ; 'thāta' iti bhāṣāyām'.11 Before him, Mādhava-Vidyāranya, Puņdarika-Viţţhala and other musicologists devised and divided the melodies (rāgas), according to the genus-species (janya-janaka) scheme. Somanath devised twenty-three parent scales. All the musicologists of that time determined a standard or basic scale (suddha-thata), for determining the nature of the structure of the ragas. During the time of Pandit Lochana-Kavi, Pandit Ahobala, Pandit

^{11.} बिलन्ति वर्गीभवन्ति रागा यत्र ति तदाश्रयाः स्वर-संस्थानिक्शेवाा मेलाः, 'शाट' इति भाषायाम् । ---रागविवोधः ।

Rāmāmatya, different numbers of scales evolved as the fountainhead of numerous rāgas. In 1620 A.D. during Venkatamakhī's time, seventy-two basic scales or melakartās evolved in the South Indian system of music, and only nineteen out of them were current in his life-time.

During Kavi Lochana's time (middle of the sixteenth-seventeenth century), we find that twelve scales or samsthānas (as he named the scale) were sufficient to determine the forms of the rāgas. Paṇḍit Viṣṇu-nārāyaṇa Bhātkhaṇḍe devised tenparent scales, and they have been accepted in the present North-Indian Hindusthāni system of music.

As in North India, so we find the evolution of different types of music in South India. Types of music like kṛti, padam, varṇaṃ, rāgamālikā, jāvāli, pallivi, etc. evolved according to the creative taste of the South Indian society. Different art music like sañchari-gīti, lakṣaṇa-gīti, rāgāṅgo-rāga, lakṣmaṇa-gīti, jātisvara, svarajāti and other different types of kīrtana like divyanāma, utsava-sampradāya, mānasa-pūjā, vedānta, etc. and nāmāvalī types of music evolved. Besides them, various types of folk music like lāvānī, kāvāḍi-chiuḍu, tappan and āmāṇi, etc. are worth-mentioning in this connection.

Different types of classical and folk music evolved in different times, in Bengal. The charya and vajra gitis of the Mahāyāni Buddhists evolved in the eleventh-twelfth century A.D. as religio-devotional songs, and they were sung with classical melodies like rāmakirī, gurjarī, bhairavī, bhairava, vasanta, hindola, mallāri, etc. The classical tālas were used in them. The prabandha-gītis of Jayadeva's Gītagovinda were remarkable contribution to Indian music. The ragas, used in the padagitis of Gitagovinda, can correctly be presented even in these days by changing the tonal arrangements of mukhāri (similar to the present form of kāphī) to the present standard scale, vilāvala. Treatises of the 16th-17th century and especially of Pandit Hṛdaya-Nārāyaṇa's Hṛdayakautuka are this respect. As for example, gurjari-rāga was in the gaurī scale during the time of Jayadeva (twelfth century A.D.), but it is now in the bhairava scale, with rsabha and dhaivata as flat

or chromatic (komala) notes. It should be remembered that in the nineteenth century radical changes overtook scale, melody and note.

In the fourteenth-fifteenth century A.D., the Krsna-kirtana evolved out of the remains of charyā, gītagovinda, mangalagīti, pānchālī, etc., and it was enriched in the hands of Vadu Chandidāsa of Nānnura, Vidyāpati, Umāpati-dhar, Umāpati-ojhā and others. The nāma-kīrtana, evolved in the fifteenth century, was devised by Śrī Chaitanya. During this period, padāvalīs, composed of vrajabuli, were developed by a host of Vaisnava savants, like Rāmānanda Rāy, Yasorāja Khān, Murārigupta, Naraharidāsa, Vāsudev Ghose, Mādhava Ghose, Rāmānanda Basu, Vansīvadana-dāsa, Nayanānanda, Valarāma-dāsa, Sivānanda Chakravurty and others. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Thakur Narottama-dasa devised a new type of classical kirtana, which was known as the rasa or lila-kirtana. It was designed after the form of the dhruvapada-prabandha in slow tempo (vilamvita-laya). The Vaisnava conference of Khetari is memorable in this connection. The gourachandrika of the lîlā-kīrtana evolved at that time. In the sixteenth-seventeenth century, there evolved different schools of padāvali-kīrtana: manoharasāhi, rānīhāti or reņeti, mandāriņī, jhādkhandī, etc. The classical type of lilā-kirtana, devised by Thākur Narottama, was included in the gaderhāti or garānhāti school, as it evolved from the Garanhati division. Different patterns of timemeasures or tālas also evolved to suit the types of kirtana.

Besides kīrtana, different types of classico-folk and folk songs evolved, and they were: yātrā, kavigāna, jhumura, yoga and bāul gītis, bhātiyālī, jāri, sāri, maṇipuri-kīrtana, etc. The socio-mystic songs of Kaviguru Rabindranāth, Dwijendralāl, Rajanīkānta, Atulprasād and Kāzi Nazrul are the treasures of Indian music. Different types of music of Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Himāchala-Pradeśa, Kābul, Kāndāhāra and those of the Greater India have also added to the stock of Indian music. In the early twentieth century, modern type of music evolved from the mixture of different tunes, classical and folk,

getting free scope in the hands of the creative artists of modern India. New types of music will continue to be evolved in future, as man's intuition and creative power are bound to evolve. The music of India will move forward with its new and novel forms and techniques as progression of the stuff of the society.

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CHAPTER FOUR

EVOLUTION OF THE RĀGAS

The story of evolution of different ragas is generally connected with a mythico-religious legend, where a divine couple, Siva and Pārvatī or Nārāyaņa and Laksmī plays an important role. But this legend had its origin in the later period, when the genus-species (sāmānya-visesa) or cause-effect (kārya-kāraņa) principle came into being in the domain of Indian music. This ideational principle was more materialized when the male-female scheme of the ragas was adopted during the sixteenth-seventeenth century. The mediæval authors of music did not overlook the scientific and psychological principles behind the evolution of the ragas. At that time they adopted their process the mythico-religious idea for spiritualizing the sphere of Indian music. We find there the influence of two main religious schools, Saiva and Vaisnava, originated from Siva and Visnu-one presiding deity of the non-Aryans and the other, the god of the Aryans. But this mythico-religious element was quite unknown in Indian music in the beginning of the Christian cra. In the fifth-seventh century A.D., we find the evolution of philosophical ideas in Indian music, which was connected with the evolution of microtones (truti) and tones (svara) from the causal sound or nada. We find this idea clearly in Matanga's Brhaddesi, where he said.

ldānim sampravakṣyāmi nāda-lakṣmaṇamuttamam /
Na nādena vinā gītam na nādena vinā svaraḥ // etc.¹
Some are of the opinion that the post-Bharata musicologists,
like Kohala, Yāṣtika, Matanga and others got this philosophical
idea from the great Epic, Mahābhārata (300 B.C.), which stated,

1. इदानी सम्प्रदक्ष्यामि नाद-लक्षणमूत्तमम्। न नादेन विना गीतं न नादेन विना स्वरः॥ Tatraika-guņa ākāśaḥ śabda ityeva sa smṛtaḥ /

Şadjarşabhah gandharo madhyamah-panchama smrtah // Atah param tu vijneyo nişado dhaivatastatha //

Evam vahuvidho jñeyah śabda ākāśasambhavah / Ākāśamuttamam bhūtam ahamkārastatah parah /

Ahamkārāt parā buddhiḥ buddherātmā tataḥ paraḥ $//^2$ That is, sound is the product of the $\bar{a}k\bar{a}sa$ i.e., ether or wind. The ether is known as the fine matter, but the ego is finer than the ether. Again buddhi or shining intelligence is finer than the ego, and, in the final analysis, it is seen that $\bar{A}tman$ or the immortal Soul is finer than the intelligence. The contention of the $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}rata$ is that the causal sound or $n\bar{a}da$ is, consequently, the deathless $\bar{A}tman$, and all the gross phenomena evolved from it.

Matanga also described about the causal sound or nāda, from which music with all its manifestation evolved. He said that the nāda as the determinate (saguṇa) Brahman, shines as Brahmā, the creator, Viṣṇu, the preserver and Maheśvara, the destroyer.

At any rate the rāgas evolved through the process of gradual evolution. As for example, from the pure type of the jātirāgas, the mixed jātirāgas evolved, from both these types of the jātirāgas, the grāmarāgas evolved, and from the grāmarāgas evolved and formalized detārāgas

In the beginning of the Classical Age (600-500 B.C.) and during the age of the Rāmāyaņa (400 B.C.), we find

2. तत्र केगुण आकाशः शब्द इत्येव स स्मृतः ।
तस्य शब्दस्य वक्ष्यामि विस्तरेण वह ण गुणान ।।
पड्जर्षभः गान्धारो मध्यमः पञ्चम स्मृतः ।
अतः परं तु विज्ञे यो निवादो धैवतस्तथा ।।
इष्टश्चानिष्टशब्दश्च संहतः प्रतिभानवान ।
एव वहुविथो ज्ञे यः शब्द आकाश-सम्भवः ।।
आकाशमूलमं भूतं अहंकारस्ततः परः ।
अहंकारात् परा वृद्धिः वृद्धे रात्मा ततः परः ।।
— महाभारत, आश्वमेधिकपर्व, ५३।५२-५५

that the rāgas (jātirāgas) had their seats or bases in the grāmas, şadja, madhyama, and gāndhāra. The grāmas formed out of the cluster of different sets of seven notes, were recognized at that time as the basic scales. The spanning of the notes (mūrcchanās) were also prevalent in the time of the Rāmāyaṇa, and we get the reference to them as 'sthāna-mūrcchana-kovidau'3, etc. In the Gupta period (320-600 A.D.), we find that poet Kālidāsa (100 B.C.—400/450 A.D.) also mentioned the grāmds and mūrcchanās: 'mūrcchanām vismaranti' or 'mūrcchanā-parigṛhīta kaisikai hō, etc. Mallināth, the commentator, said about the ślokas as 'utsange vā malina-vasane * * mūrcchanām vismaranti.' He mentioned:

Ṣaḍja-madhyama-nāmānau grāmau gāyanti mānavāḥ /

Na tu gāndhāra-nāmānām sa labhyo devayonibhih //7
From the context of the ślokas it is understood that the gāndhāra-grāma used to be practised only by the Gandharvas and Kinnaras, the semi-divine music-loving people of the northwestern region of India, and the three grāmas with their constituent twenty-one (3×7=21) mūrcchanās were prevalent during the time of Kālidāsa. Gradually the grāmas were replaced by the mūrcchanās, which were prevalent long before Sāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.). Afterwards the mūrcchanās were further replaced by the melas or melakartās during the time of the Paṇḍit Somanāth in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

It may be asked as to whether the jātis were the rāgas (melodytypes) by themselves or not. But what is a 'rāga'? Bharata (second century A.D.) did not give any definition of a rāga,

- 3. स्थान-मूर्छनको विदौ।
- 4. मूर्छनां विस्मरन्ति।
- 5. मूर्छना-परिगृहीत केशिकैः।
- 6. उत्सक्षे वा मिलनवसने * * मूर्छना विस्मर्ग्नत (उत्तरमेव ६१)।
- 7. धर् ज-मध्यमनामानी प्रामी गायिन्त मानवाः। न स गान्धारमामानं स सध्यो देवयोनिधिः।।

⁻Vide also Prajfiānānanda: Sangita-O-Sainskiti, (Beng.), Vol. II, pp. 400-101.

though he mentioned the word 'raga' at least five times in his Nātyašāstra. We-get a clear definition of it in Matanga's Brhaddesi in the fifth-seventh century A.D. He said that the sound, which tinges i.e., attracts and makes an impression upon the mind of the living beings, is known as 'raga': 'ranjako janachittanam sa chà raga udahrtah.' It has already been said that according to Kallinath, a giti is called a raga, when it is possessed of ten specific characteristics: 'dasalak sana-lak sitam gītam rāga-sabdenābhidhiyate'. The ten characteristic or essentials (dasa-laksanas) are described by Bharata in his Natyasastra as,

Grahāmsau tāra-mandrau cha nyāsopanyāsa eva cha / Alpatvam cha vahutvam cha sadavaudavite tatha //8

The time of Bharata was undoubtedly an epoch-making one, as some fundamental laws and definite systems of Indian music were made with a fresh outlook for better or fuller realization of music. He adopted ten essentials which were the notes, initial, sonant, higher, lower, closing or concluding, medial, rare, abundant, hexatonic, and pentatonic. Matanga (fifth-seventh century A.D.) also followed the scheme of the ten essentials. Some maintained different views, as we know from Śārangadeva's statement: 'kāpītyeva-māhustrayodaśa', adding three more, namely samnyāsa, vinyāsa, and antaramārga. But Kallināth said : 'yadyapi Bharata-Matangadibhih samnyāsa-vinyāsayorvidāryāsritatvād apanyāse'ntarbhāvenāntara-mārgasya api amśādi-avayavānāmanyo * * prthaguddeso nāpeksita, iti dasakam jāti-laksaņamityuktam'. 10 Kallināth's contention was that as Bharata, Matanga and other musicologists included samnyāsa and vinyāsa in the category of apanyāsa, and atantaramārga in that of amsa, so they were not regarded as separate essentials, and, therefore, ten essentials were

- 8. ब्रह्मंशी तार-मन्द्री च न्यासोपन्यास एव च। अल्पत्वं च बहुत्वं च पाइवीड्विते तथा।।
- 9. कापीत्येवमाहस्त्रयोदश।
- 10. यद्यपि भरत-मतङ्कादिभिः संन्यासिबन्यासयोविद्वार्याश्रितत्वाद् अपन्यासेऽन्तर्भा-वेणान्त्रमार्गस्य अपि अंशादि-अवयवानामन्यो * * पृथगुद्देशो नापेक्षित, इति दशकं जाति-

The essentials are the determining characteristics of the rāgas. Now, what do we mean by graha and amsa? The word graha connotes the idea of the initial note, from where the manifestation of a rāga begins, or wherefrom the song or the part of the song takes its start: 'yat pravitiam bhaved gānam', '11 whereas amsa denotes the dominant or sonant, where a rāga takes on its fuller manifestation and from where it begins: 'tatra amso nāma * *, yasmin vasati rāgastu yasmācchaiva pravartate'. '12 It should be remembered that Bharata took graha and amsa in the same sense, which is evident from his definition of both graha and amsa:

Grahastu sarva-jātināmamsa eva hi kirtitah /

Yat pravṛttaṃ bhaved-gānaṃ so'mśo grahavikalpitaḥ //13
It is also proved by the definition of the sonant itself: 'yasmin vasati rāgastu' = amśa, and 'yasmācchaiva pravartate' = graha. 14

During the time of Matanga of the Bthaddes, we find some changes in the social environment as well as in the taste and emperament of the people. Matanga dealt with the problems of graha and amsa in a very ingenious way. He said that the starting note of the jātirāga is the initial or graha: 'tatrādau jātyādi-prayogo grhyate yena asau grahah', 15 but it is not prominent like amsa: 'graha hi apradhānabhutah', whereas the sonant, being universal and cause of the manifestation of rāga, is prominent: 'rāga-janakatvād vyāpakatvāccha amsasya eva pradhānyam'. 16 Further, Matanga said that though the ancient authorities like Bharata and others considered both initial and prominent notes as essential for the jātirāgas, yet they were interpreted in relation to dominant and subordinate i.e., samvādī and anuvādī

- 11. यत प्रवृत्तम भवेद गानम् ।
- 12. तत्र अंशो नाम * *, यस्मिन वसति रागस्तु यस्माच्चैव प्रवर्तते ।
- 13. ग्रहस्तु सर्वजातीनामंश एव हि कीर्तितः। यत् प्रवृत्तं भवेदगानं सोऽ शो ग्रह-विकल्पितः॥ These will separately be discussed.
- 14. यस्मिन बसति रागस्तु = अंश, and यस्मारुचैव प्रवर्तते = प्रह ।
- 15. तत्रादी जात्यादि-प्रयोगो मृह्यते येन असी ब्रहः।
- 16. रागजनकरबाद व्यापकरवाच्च अंशस्य एव प्राधान्यम् ।

notes: 'yadyapi sarva-jātīnām grahomsascha pradhānībhū a ityut-sarga-siddham, tathāpi samvādi-anuvādi-vidhinā chodyate'. Gradually amsa became familiar with the new name of vādī, which means that which says about or manifests the rāga: 'vadanāt rāgajanakatvād vā vādī'. 18

The new nomenclature of the dominant note evolved perhaps during Matanga's time in the fifth-seventh century A.D., and both the terminologies, amsa and vādī were current in Śārangadeva's time in the early thirteenth century A.D. Kallināth said that the word vādī conveyed the same idea of creating pleasing sensations as the word amsa did: 'sa vādī yogyatāvasāt amsaḥ syāt, rakti-vyanjakatvāt'.¹9 But, yet, there was a difference between amsa and vādī, though Bharata used them in the same sense. He said: 'nanu amso graha iti Bharatādesena sarveşu api amsa-dharmeşu grahasya prāptam, na kevalam vāditvameva dharmaḥ, api tu vāditvādi-chatuṣtayamapīti tayorbheda iti'.²0 Simhabhupāla supported this view of Kallināth

Again we find a peculiarity in the application of both initial and dominant notes in the jātirāga, as Bharata considered them as more than one. As for example, the jātirāga, ṣādji, was possessed of three initial notes and three dominant notes, ṣādja, madhyama and dhaivata. Such was the case with other jātirāgas, both pure and mixed. The number of the initial and dominant notes might be considered as more than three, and, according to Bharata, the total number of the dominant notes, as used in the ancient ṣādjagrāma and madhyamagrāma, were 63: 'dvai grāmakīnām jātinām sarvāsāmapi * * amša-stri-

^{17.} यद्यपि सर्वजातीनां ग्रहों शश्च प्रधानीभूत इत्युत्सर्गसिद्धम्, तथापि संवादि-अनवादि-विधिना चोवते।

^{18.} बद्नात् रागजनकत्वाद् वा वादी।

^{19.} स वादी योग्यतावशात अंशः स्यात, रत्ति-ज्यञ्जकत्वात ।

^{20.} ननु अंशो ब्रह इति भरतादेशेन सर्वेषु अपि अंशधर्मेषु ब्रहस्य प्राप्त', न केवलं वादित्वमेन धर्मः, अपि तु वादित्वादि-चतुष्ट्यमपीति तयोभेंद इति ।

sasthirvijneyoh'.21 That was the case with graha: 'chaiva tathā grahāh'.22

We know from the cultural history of the ancient nations of the world that some of them, in the Near East and the West, adopted the scheme of the initial, final and dominant notes, in their systems of music; but it should be noticed that they rarely considered the same notes as both initial and dominant, as Bharata did, and there lies the fundamental difference between the system of Bharata and those of the foreign nations. Besides, there were other differences between the ancient system of Indian music and those of the Near East and the West.

We have already said that Bharata's scheme of graha of the rāga was modified in the later musicology, to some extent. Sārangadeva did not admit Bharata's doctrine: 'tatra yaḥ svaro'-misaḥ sa eva grahaḥ'.²³ He rather modified the scheme or system and said: 'tatra amisagrahayoranyataroktau ubhaya-grahaḥ',²⁴ (SR. 1.7.31). Kallināth made it explicit, when he said: 'yatra kvachit amisa eva uchyate—na grahaḥ, yatra cha graha eva uchyate—na tu amisaḥ',²⁵ So we find that the scheme of the essentials were modified from time to time to suit the system of music according to the taste and temperament of the changing society.

Regarding (3) nyāsa or concluding note, Bharata said: 'nyāso hi anga-samāptau'.28 The anga means 'part' or portion of the song or musical composition. That is, where the manifestation of a rāga or an ālāpa ends, it is called nyāsa. (4) The apanyāsa means the medial stop. Matanga said: 'yatra smāptamiva gītam pratibhāsate so'panyāsah'.27 The apanyāsa appears

- 21. द्वे ग्रामकोनां जातीनां सर्वासामि * * अंशस्त्रिवष्ठिविद्ये वोः।
- 22. चैव तथा ग्रहाः।
- 23. तत्र मः स्वरोऽ'शः स एव त्रहः।
- 24. तत्र अंश-प्रहयोरण्यतरोत्ती उभयग्रहः ।
- 25. वत्र क्याचित अंश एव उच्यते—न प्रहः, वत्र च प्रष्ट एव उन्यते—न पु अंशः ।
- 26. न्यासो हि अञ्चलमाप्ती।
- 27. बंत्र समाष्ठमित गीतं प्रतिभासते सोऽपन्वासः।

in the vidari or compositions of the songs. It forms generally the former part of the melody or song: 'angamadhye apanyasa eva syāt'.28 (5) The samnyāsa means a note which is not antagonistic to the sonant, and remains in the part of the composition of the song. (6) The vinyāsa note functions like the samnyāsa, but it remains in the latter part of the song. (7) The alpatva means rarity i.e., rare use of the note in the rāga. It is of two kinds, anabhyāsa and langhana. In anabhyāsaalpatva, notes are dropped other than the sonance, and when the note rarely touches the composition of the raga, it is called langhana-alpatva: 'svarānām langhanāt anabhyāsāccha sakītucchāranam'.29 (8) The vahutva means abundance of the notes, in the rāga. (9) The antaramārga generally avoids nyāsa, apanyāsa, vinyāsa, samnyāsa, graha and amsa, and from time to time incorporates the dual functions of the alpatva, mentioned above, in consonance with amsa, etc. (10) The tāra is the note of the higher octave (saptaka), and (11) the mandra, of the lower octave. (12) The sādavatva and (13) the audavatva i.e., hexatonic and pentatonic forms of the rāgas are constituted out of six and five notes respectively. These last two essentials constitute the patterns of the rāgas. Śārangadeva adopted the scheme of ten essentials in ālāpa and ālapti for the manifestations (āvirbhāva) of the rāgas.

Now it is clear that the ten essentials, as devised or adopted by Bharata in the second century A.D., or the thirteen essentials, as adopted by some post-Bharata musicologists, were the determining characteristics of the jātirāgas, grāmarāgas, and bhāṣā, vibhāṣā, antarabhāṣā, and all kinds of anga and formalized deṣī-rāgas. But after thirteenth-fourteenth century, they were not recognized as essential, and in the nineteenth-twentieth century, when there came a great change in the domain of North Indian classical music, the ten essentials

^{28.} अङ्गमध्ये अपन्यास एव स्यात ।

^{29.} स्वराणां लङ्घनात अन्थ्यासाच्च सक्त-उच्चारणम्।

have been, truly speaking, limited only to the theoretical knowledge of music.

Bharata also adopted the scheme of cycle of the fifth and cycle of the fourth for the determination of the ragas. same process is found in the Pythagorian system of music, that evolved in about 582-507 B.C. Pythagoras constructed his diatonic scale with the help of the series of fifths=F+C+ G+D+A+E+B. Edward Macdowell said in his Critical and Historical Essays (1912): 'It was said of Pythagoras that he had studied twelve years with the Magi in the temples of Babylon; had lived among the Druids of Gaul and the Indian Brahmins; had gone among the priests of Egypt, witnessed their most secret temple rites'. In ancient Greece, there were in use over fifteen different modes (scales), each one has common to the part of the country, in which it originated. At the time of Pythagoras there were seven modes in general, and each mode or scale was composed of two sets of 4 notes=4+ 4=8. Theodore M. Finney was of opinion that Pythagoras found the tone relationships of the octave, the fifth and the fourth, correspond to the numerical relationships 2:1, 3:2, 4:2. He supposed that these three simple ratios were the basis of a principle which could be extended to define the intervals of the third, the sixth, and the second. Now cycle of the fifth and cycle of the fourth, as observed by Pythagoras (about 582-591 B.C.), were exactly the same as the sadjapanichama and sadja-madhyama bhavas, adopted by Bharata of the Nātyašāstra, in the second century A.D. Some are of the opinion that Bharata borrowed the scheme of cycles of the fifth and the fourth, together with that of the essentials (dasalaksanas)30 from the Greek system, modified by Pythagoras. But it seems to be an assumptive view, as similar ideas might

^{30.} The dasa-laksanas are the ten essentials that qualify and determine that real nature of the ragas. The 'laksana' connotes the idea of a name or a thing. The derivative meaning of laksana is 'लझवात तु अर्थदर्शणात' or 'लझवते झायतेऽनेन इति लझवन्'। That is, that which enlightens, is laksana.

simultaneously evolve in two or more civilized countries. There is no genuine proof that one has been fashioned on the ideal or out of the materials of the other. Again from the history of the world it is known that there were many interchanges of ideas and cultures between different civilized countries of the East and the West. The fact of one country being benefited by the other, in the fields of art, science and culture, does not prove blind imitation of the one by the other. Regarding the antiquity of Indian music, Swāmī Abhedānanda said: 'The dawn of Aryan civilization broke for the first time on the horizon, not of Greece or Rome, not of Arabia or Persia, but of India, which may be called the motherland of metaphysics, philosophy, logic, astronomy, science, art, music and medicine, as well as of truly ethical science and religion. The Hindus first developed the science of music from the chanting of the Vedic hymns. The Sama-Veda was especially meant for music. And the scale with seven notes and three octaves was known in India centuries before the Greeks had it. Probably the Greeks learnt it from the Hindus. It will be interesting to you to know that Wagner was indebted to the Hindu science of music, especially for his principal idea of the 'leading motive'; and this is perhaps the reason why it is difficult for many Western people to understand Wagner's music. He became familiar with Eastern music through Latin

The Indian Logic defined it as 'इत्रभंद-अनुमापकम् व्यवहार-प्रयोजकञ्च'। The lakşaṇa, therefore, falls into the category that differentiates a thing at first, and then makes it known for our practical purpose. Bopadeva defined it as an 'abhijnānam' or a kind of knowledge that manifests an object. Therefore lakṣaṇa is known as a determining principle that constitutes an inherent and indispensible part of an object. It assumes the aspects of both qualitative relation and qualify itself, that make an object known what really it is, and this is the psychological value and logical concept of a lakṣaṇa of a thing or an object. Bharata described ten lakṣaṇas in the Nātyaśāstra to determine the jātis as the rāgas which please and soothe the hearts of men and animals.

translations, and his conversation on this subject with Schopenhauer is probably already familiar to you'.31

Nārada of the $\dot{S}ik_{\bar{s}}\bar{a}$ (first century A.D.) mentioned ten determining qualities (dasa-guṇas) of the gītis and not of the rāgas. Sārangadeva also described these ten qualities in his Sangīta-Ratnākara (vide SR. 4. 373-378), and specially laid stress upon the qualities, mādhuryam or madhuram (sweetness) and lāvanya (lustre), which intensify the power of the gitis or rāgas that please and soothe the minds of the people: 'madhuram dhūrya-lāvanya-pūrņam janamanoharam'.32 Now, it should be mentioned in this connection that Matanga expounded seven types of song or gīti in terms of the melodies or rāgas, and they were: suddhā, bhinnā or bhinnakā, gaudī, rāga, sādhāraņi, bhāṣā and vibhāṣā. At that time (fifth-seventh century), it was the custom to describe the ragas in terms of the gitis and vice versa, and though Nārada determined ten qualities the gītis and not of the clearly defined ragas, yet it should be understood that the qualities were meant for the ragas. Now all these ten qualities, together with the ten characteristics (daša-laksana) determine the intrinsic nature of a raga.

Did these qualities and characteristics exist in the jātis, as described in the Rāmāyana? Vālmīki said:

Pāthye geye cha madhuram pramāņai stribhiranvitam / Jātibhih saptabhiryuktam tantrī-laya-samanvitam // Rasaih śṛṅgāra-karuṇa-hasya-raudra-bhayānakaih / Vīrādibhir-rasairyuktam kāvyametadgāyatām // Tau tu gāndharva-tattajñau sthāna-mūrcchana-kovidau / Bhrātarau svara-sampannau gāndharvāvivarūpiņau //83

^{31.} Vide Swāmī Abhedānanda: India and Her People (1940), pp. 216, 221.

^{32.} मधुरं धूर्य-लावण्य-पूर्णं जन-मनोहरम् ।
33. पाठ्ये गेये च मधुरं प्रमाणेस्त्रिभरन्वितम् ।
जाविभिः सप्तिभर्यु च तन्त्रीलयसमन्वितम् ॥
रसैः शृङ्कारकरुणहास्यरीद्रभयानकैः ।
वीरादिभि रसिर्यु च कान्यमेतद्गायताम् ॥

Both the commentaries Siromani and Govinda state that the seven jātis were pure (śuddha) in their types. They also quote the citation of the great authority, Śāṇḍilya who said:

Sarva-gīta-samādhāro jātirityabhidhīyate //³⁴ Ṣādjī chāvatha naiṣādī dhaivatī pañchamī tathā / Mādhyamī chaiva gāndhārī saptamī tvārṣabhī matā /

That is, pure type of seven jātis, as described by Vālmīki, were sādjī, ārṣabhī, gāndhārī, mādhyamī, pañchamī, dhaivatī and naišādī. They had their full play in the three octaves, bass, medium and high. They were possessed of mūrcchanās, three registers, rhythm and tempo, and eight emotional sentiments and moods. Regarding 'pāṭhya'35, Abhinavagupta said in his commentary, Abhinavabhāratī that when the composition (sāhitya) is possessed of six alamkāras, like seven deśī (laukika) notes, three octaves, four varṇas, two kinds of kāku, sākāmkṣā (with motive) and nirākāmkṣā (without motive), eight æsthetic sentiments, and high and low intonations, it is called 'pāṭhya' or 'geya': 'svara-sthāna-varṇa-kākkalamkā-rāngāni ṣat atrālamkāra-sabdena vivakṣitāni, etairhi bhūṣitam kāvya-pāṭhyamuchyate'.36 To determine the etymological significance of the word 'pāṭhya', he said:

तौ तु गान्धर्वतत्तज्ञौ स्थानभूर्छनको विदौ। भातरौ स्वरसम्पन्नौ गान्धर्वाविवस्त्रिवनौ।। रूपलक्षणसंम्पन्नौ मधुरस्वरभाषिणौ।

34. सर्वगीत समाधारो जातिरित्यभिधीयते।
पाइ जी चावथ नैयादी धैवती पञ्चमी तथा।
माध्यमी चैव गान्धारी सप्तमी त्वार्षभी मता।।

35. Regarding 'pāṭḥya', the commentator stated : 'तेन पाठे गाने चेत्यर्थ:', i.e., pāṭḥa means gāna or song. It means composition too.

36. (क) स्वरस्थानवर्णकाक्कलंकाराङ्गानि षट अत्रालंकारशब्देन विवक्षितानि, एते हि भूषितं काव्य-पाठ्यमुच्यते।

(ख) अत एवाह पाठ्यगुणानिति गुणाः उपकारकाः, यदुपकृतं काव्यं पाठ्यं भवतीत्यर्थः।

* * यदि हि स्वरगतारक्तिः पाठ्ये प्राधान्येनावलम्बेत तदा गानिक्रयासौ स्यात, न पाठः।
पूर्णस्वरत्वाभावादङ्कानां भेद इति चेत, न, अपूर्णस्वरत्वेऽिष गानत्वप्रतिज्ञानात, षाड्वौड्
वितयोः त्रिचतुरस्वरत्वेऽिष गानप्रतीतिभवत्येव * *।

'svarāṇāṃ yadrakti-pradhēnatvamanuraṇanamayaṃ tattyāgenocchanīcha-madhyama-sthāna-sparsita-mātraṃ pāṭhyopayogīti darsitam. Yadi hi svaragatā raktiḥ', etc.³⁷ From this it is understood that when the combination of notes, underlying jāti or pāṭhya, contains the propensity of creating pleasing and soothing sensations in the minds of living beings, it is known as a 'rāga'. There remain the vibrating waves of the sweet sounds thanuraṇana vṛṭti or ṭakti), in the rāga. The Rāmāyaṇa described the intrinsic nature and power of the jātis:

Tau chāpi madhuram raktam sva-chittāyataniḥsvanam //
Tantrī-laya-vadatyartham viśrutārthamagāyatām /
Hlādayat sarva-gātrāni manāmsi hrdayāni cha /
Śrotrāśraya-sukham geyam tadubhau jana-samsadi //38

Here the words 'madhuram', 'raktam', 'hlādayat sarva-gātrāni manāmsi hrdayāni cha', 'śrotrāśrayam sukham', 'śrotrām harşavardhanam', etc. clearly express the same meaning as 'rajyate yena yah kaschit', 39 'rañjako jana-chittānām', 40 etc., mentioned by Matanga in the Brhaddesi.

Regarding the last śloka of the first canto of the fourth chapter of RM.: 'hlādayat sarva-gātrāni manāmsi hrdayāni cha', the commentary Siromaņi stated: 'śrotrāśraya-sukham śrotram karna-sankuli āśrayo yasya tacchrotrāśrayam śrotrendriyam tasya sukham yasmāt tat. Sarva-gātrāni nikhilāvayavān manāmsi hrdayāni **

- 37. (क) स्वराणां यद्वकिपधानत्वमनुरणनमयं तत्त्वागेनोच्चनीचमध्यमस्थानस्पर्शित-मात्र'वाट्योपयोगीति दर्शितम् । यदि हि स्वरगता रक्तिः * * ।
 - (ख) रिकप्रधानत्वमन्रणनमयम्।
 - 33. ती चांपि मधुर रक्तं स्विचायतिनःस्वनं । तन्त्रीत्वयवद्त्यर्थं विश्वुतार्थमगायता । द्वाद्यत्सर्वमात्रानि मनोसि द्वद्यानि च । श्रोत्राश्यस्यस्यं गेयं तद्रभौ जनसंसदि ।
 - 39. 'रज्यते येन यः कश्चित् ।
 - 40. (क) रञ्जको जनचित्रानाः।
 - (स) रञ्जनाञ्जायते रागः ।

hlādayat geyam gānam', etc.41 The commentary Bhuşana also admitted: * * hlādayat sukhayat śrotrāśraya-sukham śrotram karņašankuli tadāsrayam šrotrendriyam tat sukham * * geyam ganam * *.42 From these statements it appears that the jatis, as mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, were no other than the rāgas. Some are of the opinion that the pleasing and soothing capacities are not the only qualities for determining the nature of the ragas, but ten characteristics like initial (graha) and final (nyāsa), etc. notes are also necessary, together with the harmonic relations or consonance (svara-samvāda) between the notes, first and fourth (sadja and madhyama), and first and fifth (sadja and panchama). But the ten characteristics (dasa-lakṣaṇa) of a rāga, as devised or discoursed by Bharata, are of later origin (second century A.D.). Previously i.e. before the Christian era, the nature of melodies were known or determined by the qualities (dasagunas), as described by Nārada of the Siksā.43 They were known as pleasing and soothing propensities. Kallināth admitted that as the grāmarāgas are possessed of tinging i.e. please ing quality, they are known as ragas: 'tāsāmapi rañjanāt rāgatvam cha voddhavyam'.44

The notes of the ragas are also composed of some pitches, having pleasing sweet vibrations (anuranana), and each note is possessed of some æsthetic sentiments that bring life to the rāgas. As for example, sadja induces the heroic (veera), furious (raudra) and amazing (adbhuta) emotions, rsabha has an appeal to the emotion of fearfulness (bhayānaka), gāndhāra appeals to the sense of pathos or karuna, madhyama and panchama appeal to the sentiment of the basic creative impulse (srngāra) or the

- 41. श्रोत्राश्रय-सुखं श्रोत्र कर्नशङ्कृति आश्रयो यस्य तच्छ्रोत्राश्रयं श्रोत्र निद्रयं तस्य सुखं यस्मात् तत् । सर्वगात्रानि निखिलावयवान मनांसि हदयानि * * ह्वादयत् गेयं गानम्।
- 42. ह्वाद्यत् सुखयत् श्रोत्राश्रयसुखं श्रोत्रं कर्णशङ्कुचि तदाश्रयं श्रीत्रं निद्रयं तत सुखं 🌣 🤄 गेयं गान'।
- 43. Śarangadeva also described these ten qualities of the raga, in his Sangīta-Ratnākara, IV. 373-378. The boy law in a 41. तासामिति रञ्जनात् रागत्वं च बीज्ञव्यम् । अवक्र क्रिकेट स्वयम्

humorous (hāsya), etc. Nārada described five kinds of subtle notes which form the genus of the later evolved twenty-two microtones (*srutis*), as described by Bharata of the Nātyašāstra. The genus-species (*janya-janaka*) scheme was the source of the living emotions of the rāgas.

Indian music possesses a spirit of its own. It is synthetic and contemplative, so its tendency is inwarding and conentrating. The microtones are the basic constituents of the seven tones, and Dattila called them avadhana or rapt attention, to be used in the gandharva-gana. The microtones are saturated with emotional sentiments (rasas), and though they create different moods in different settings of notes, yet are balanced in a concentrated peaceful state that brings the divergent modifications of the mind to meditation, leading to the attainment of The ragas are, in truth, the different Godconsciousness. settings of living emotions that work as means to an end. The permanent (sthāyī) varņas of the rāgas and the alamkāras, The prasannadi, prasannanta, etc. create prasada or calmness of mind, which promises the sincere artists and lovers of music permanent peace and tranquil happiness even in this earth, which is full of sorrows and tears.

Now, from this viewpoint it will not be an unreasonable hypothesis that both the prehistoric and Vedic music were possessed of qualities like madhura, rakta, prasanna, etc. and æsthetic sentiments, which used to create pleasing and inspiring sensations in the mind of the living beings. The tunes of the Reimple stringed lute or Veenā and crude flute, discovered from the mounds of the prehistoric Indus Valley cities, had in them the charming power and pleasing quality. The flutes, lutes and drums used to accompany the vocal music which was much more developed than the ancient primitive music of the savage nations. In the Vedic time, music was cultured with five notes, and different combinations of them used to create some tonal designs or forms, which might have been known as melodies. The Vedic music had its own grammar which was divided into Siksā and Prātisākhya. It used to observe the rules and methods for singing and chanting

the sāmagānas, and for that purpose it used different metres, registers, rhythms and tempi as well as different emotional sentiments. So it can be said that though the prehistoric and Vedic music were not possessed of the sonant-consonant (vādīsamvādī) relation and the scheme of ten determining characteristics (dasa-laksana) that evolved in later time, yet they were not devoid of pleasing melodic patterns. Let us, therefore, leave this very controversial matter to be discussed by the future historians of music.

This much is quite certain that there were melody-types or rāgas in the time of the Rāmāyaņa (400 B.C.), which were in the form of jātis. They were known as the basic rāgas. In the Mahābhārata and Khila-Harivamsa, we find some inscriptions of the grāmarāgas which evolved from the jātis or jātirāgas: 'jātisambhūtatvāt grāmarāgāni'. Perhaps there were six main grāmarāgas ('sadgrāmarāgādi-samādhi-yuktam'), and they used to be played in the grāmas, şadja, madhyama and gāndhāra (ā-gāndhāragrāma-rāgam gangāvataranam tathā'). A reference to Brahmā or Brahmābharata, the first promulgator of classical gāndharw type of music, can be traced in Bharata's Nātyaśāstra45 and Matanga's Brhaddesi.46 Brahmā said that there were only five grāmarāgas, used as stage-songs (nātyagītis), and they were: şadjagrāma, madhyamagrāma, sādhārita, kaisīka-madhyama and kaisīka.47 The time of Brahmābharata is ascribed to 600-500 B.C. During the time of Mahābhārata-Harivamsa (300-200 B.C.) the grāmarāga, şāḍava probably evolved and was added to the group of the five grāmarāgas. In the Nāradīsikṣā, we find

- 45. Vide NS. (Kāśī ed.), 32.453-454.
- 46. Vide Brhaddesi (Travancore ed.), p. 87.
- 47. मुखे तु मध्यमग्रामः पङ्जं प्रतिमूखे स्मृतः। साधारितं तथा गर्मे मर्शे केशिकमध्यमः ॥ कैशिकञ्च तथा कार्य गानं निवर्हणे वृधे:। सान्धवृत्ताश्रयश्चेव रसभावसमन्बितः।।

This sloka has been quoted by Matanga in his Byhaddesi in a different way, and Matanga mentioned the name of Druhina-Brahma, as its compilor, guilded to the store

again the seven grāmarāgas, which were current even in the seventh-ninth century A.D., as evidenced by the Kudimiyamalai Cave Inscription of South India. Dr. Kṛṣṇasvāmī Aiyangar admitted it in his Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture (1942). He said: 'Mahendra seems to have been a patron of music as well, and a short musical treatise referable to his time is inscribed on the face of the great Siva Temple at Kudimiyamalai in the Pudukkottai state so that Mahendra n particular was a patron of art as well as of religion'. Kudimiyāmalai literally means the hill of Him who has the Sikhā. It is the Śikhānāthasvāmī temple near the Melaikkovil. 'This huge inscription', said R. Sathyanārāyaņa, 'is engraved on a rock on the slope of the hill behind the Sikhānāthasvāmī temple. The end-signs and some of the last letters of the lines of the final sections of the inscription are obscured by the - rock-cut mandapam in front of the Melaikkovil, but otherwise the writing in the pallvagrantha characters, containing all the headings and the colophon in samskrta except a line in tāmil It contains quadruple groupings of musical notes pertaining to the seven archaic suddhagrāmarāgas-madhyamagrama, sadjagrama, sadharita, panchama, kaisika-madhyama and kaisīka in vogue in ancient India. * * Unfortunately, a similar inscription at Tirumayyam near Padukkottāi was erased in greater part at a later period and is now almost in an undecipherable condition. * * The inscription is believed to have been composed in the seventh century A.D. on the strength of scriptoroal and other evidence. Its author is generally p believed to be Mahendra Vikrama Varman I of the Pallavas. Though the inscription was discovered as early as in 1904 and edited by P. R. Bhandarkar in 1914 with commentary with the help of an estampage supplied by the late Rāo Shāheb H. Kṛṣṇa Sāstrī, only an occasional or a casual study of the inscription has been made till now'.

R. Sathyanārāyana of Mysore Brothers further said: 'The inscription of the seven grāmarāgas is divided into seven sections, 'each subdivided into a number of ākşiptikās. Each ākşiptikā is in a horizontal line, the notes being arranged in quadruple

groupings. Each ākṣiptikā concludes with an end-sign. Fifteen of these are lost. * * The total usage of musical notes in the inscription is 2432. But of these 54 are not available. However 19 out of these missing notes may be guessed as follows: sa-3, ri-2, ga (antara-gāndhāra)-2, ma-4, pa-3, dha-3 and ka (kaišīkaniṣāda)-2. The frequency of usage of the musical notes in the inscription is in the following order:

Şadja-sa, se, su, si.

II. Madhyama-mu, mi, me, ma.

III. Dhaivata-dhe, dhu, dhi, dha.

IV. Rşabha-ra, ru, ri, re.

V. Pañchama-pu, pe, pi, pa.

VI. Niṣāda—ne, na (nu, ni).

VII. Gāndhāra—gi, ga, se, gu.

VIII. Antara (gāndhāra)—u, a, e,—

IX. Kākali (niṣāda)—ke, ku, ka,—.'48

The names of the seven notes, used in the inscription, are: șadja, t șabha gandhara, madhyama, panchama, dhaivata, ni șada and two vikrta notes, antara-gandhara and kakali-nişada.

It should be remembered that though we find the seven grāmarāgas, in the Nāradīśikṣā, yet they were, in truth, six in number. Bhattaśobhākara, the commentator is of opinion that the grāmarāgas, kaišīka and kaišīka-madhyama, as described by the $N\bar{a}rad\bar{\iota}\delta ik\bar{s}\bar{a}$, are, in reality, one and the same $r\bar{a}ga$, but, because of different adjustments of notes, madhyama and pañchama, they appear as different. As for example, when in the grāmarāga, kaisīka, the fourth note madhyama is used as a final note (nyāsa-svara), it is known as kaišīka-madhyama, and when panchama is used as the dominant or sonant and niṣāda as kākali, it is called kaiśīka.49 Besides, the tonal arrangements of both the grāmarāgas and the rāgas are the same, and they

^{48.} Vide R. Sathyanārāyaņa of Mysore Brothers: Kudimiyāmalai Inscription on Music (Mysore, 1957), p. 82, and Preface

^{49. (}क) केशिक भावियत्वा तु स्वरैः सबैः समन्ततः। यस्मात् तु मध्यमे न्यासस्तरमात् केशिकमध्यमः ॥

have evolved from madhyama-grāma, the ancient basic scale. So, if we consider the grāmarāgas, kaišika and kaišika-madhyama as one and the same, the number seven, as mentioned in the Nāradīšikṣā, becomes consistent with the six grāmarāgas ('saḍgrāmarāgādi'), as mentioned in the Harivamsa. Besides it, as the sādhārita is known as ṣadja-sādhārana and the kaišīka as 'madhyama-sādhārana', so we may consider the kaišīka as kaišīka-madhyama. But it should be remembered that even during the limes of Mahābhārata and Harivamsa, the jātis or jātirāgas were practised with the brahmagītis and the kapālagītis, devised by the greatest playwright and musicologist, Brahmā or Brahmābharata of the pre-Christian era.

The nature and the forms of the jātirāgas have been discussed elaborately by Muni Bharata in a new and novel way. During his time, the seven jātirāgas were developed into eighteen. With the mixture of seven pure (suddha) jātirāgas, he designed eleven more. He called them mixed i.e. vikrta or samkīrņa jātirāgas. In the last chapter of the Nātyašāstra, he mentioned some grāmarāgas. He designated the jātis as 'rāgas' and the evidence of it is found at least five times in different chapters of the Nātyašāstra. He said: (a) 'jātirāgam srutischaiva' (Kāsī ed. 28.55); 50 (b) 'yasmin vasanti rāgāstu' (28.72); 51 (c) 'kartavyā jātigāne prayatnatah' (29.4); 52 (d) 'karuņe tu rase kārye jātigāne'

काकलिह रयते यत्र प्राधान्यं पञ्चमस्य तु । कर्ययः कैशिकं प्राष्ट्र मध्यम्ब्रामसस्प्रवम् ॥

(ख) Bhattasobhäkara said :

पूर्वोक्तिशिकं यदा सकेः स्वरेभांन्यते योज्यते मध्यमादुवक्रम्यते मध्यमे च न्यस्यते तश्र स्थाप्यते तदा कैशिकमध्यमो ग्रामरागो भवतीति मध्यमग्रामादुत्पसस्य काकितरेय श्रुतिको निषादो भवति पश्चमस्य प्राधान्यं पुनःपुनरच्यारणं श्रेषाणि स्वरान्तराणि सामान्येन वर्तते । तदा मध्यमग्रामसंभवं कैशिकं कश्यपञ्चविराष्ट्र ।

- 50. जातिरागं अंतिश्रीव (२८।११)
- 51. यस्मिन् वसन्ति रागास्तु (२४।७२)
- 52. कर्तव्या जातिगाने प्रयत्नतः (२१।४)

(29.6);53 (e) 'adbhute tu rase kārye jātigāne' (29.9),54 etc. The jātigāna means the jātīrāga-gāna. The terms 'gāna' and 'gīti' are used here for 'raga'. The jatis or jatiragas were sung with eight emotional sentiments, four varnas, different music-parts (dhātus) rhythm and tempo (tāla and laya). They were determined by ten characteristics like initial (graha), sonant (amsa or vādī) notes: 'evametat yathā-jāti dasakam jātilak sanam'.55

After Bharata, Kohala, Yāstika, Durgāśakti and others described the nature and the forms of different formalized desirāgas. Matanga followed Bharata in many respects. He called the jātis as rāgas, when he determined the sonant, consonant, and dissonant (notes) of the jatis. He said:

- '* * asmin sthane kriyamanah şadja jatiragaha na bhavet'.
- (b) 'evam rşabha-dhaivatayoh sthāne dhaivatarşabhau jātirāgavināšakarau na bhavatah'.
- (c) '* * svarūpam bhajan jātirāgahā na bhavati' etc. 56

From these it is clear that the jatis are no other than the basic melody-types or ragas, and they are fully possessed of ten determining characteristics (dasa-laksanas) and ten pleasing qualities, (dasa-gunas) like madhura, rakta, prasanna, etc.

The jātirāga, said Sārangadeva, evolved from the materials of the Vedic music, the sāmans and it was sacred like the Vedic music: 'tathā sāma-samudbhūta jātayo veda-sammatah'.57 Sārangadeva said that the gandharva or marga type of jatiraga-gana was sacred like the Vedic music, as it purifies sins and demerits, originating even from the killing of the Brāhmins: 'api brahmahananam'. The ancient musicologists said that music which

- करुणे तु रसे कार्थे जातिगाने (२१।६) 53.
- अद्भ ते तु रसे कार्ये जातिगाने (२६१६) 54.
- एवमेतत् यथा जाति दशकं जातिलक्षणम्। 56.
- (क) अस्मिन् स्थाने क्रियमाणः पड्ज जातिरागहा न भवेत्।
 - (ख) एवम् ऋषभ-धैवतयोः स्थाने धैवतर्षभी-जातिराग-विनाशकरी न भवतः। (ग) * * स्वरूपं भजन जातिरागहा न भवति ।
- तथा साम-समुद्भुत जातयो वेदसम्मतः। सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर

was searched for and collected and designed in a new pattern, according to new method, was known as 'mārga' ('mrg'—anveşane), and it was also known as 'gāndharva', because it was very favourite to the semi-divine Gandharvas. Nārada defined the word 'gāndharva' as,

Geti geyam viduh prājñā dheti kāru-pravādanam /

Veti vādyasya samjñeyam gāndharvasya virochanam //58 Bhattasobhākara clarified it, when he commented on the sloka: ga-šabdena gānam laks yayate, dha-kāreņa va-kāreņa vaiņikas ya hastānguli-dhāraņam pravādana-padena chāturyena kathite va-kāreņa vādanam laksitam'.59 That is, by the word 'ga' song is meant, by 'dha' the practice of flute or pipe, by 'ya' placing the fingers on the holes of the flute (venu), and the word 'va' signifies the practice of musical instruments. gāndharva means music and its process of singing, accompanied by flute. Bharata also defined the word 'gandharva' in the same sense, though he interpreted it in a different way. He said that the combination of svara, tala, and pada gave rise to ihe gāndharva type of music: 'gāndharvamiti vijneyam svara-tālapadāsrayam'.60 These three constituents, svara, tāla, and pada were composed of many other constituents like:

- (a) svara—notes, microtones, grāmas, mūrcchanās, registers, eighteen jātis, varņas, etc.
- (b) tāla—āvāpa- nişkrāma, samyā, etc.
- (c) pada -vyanjana, sandhi, vibhakti, etc.

It should be remembered that the jātis or jātirāgas played an important role in the gāndharva type of music. The gāndharva was enriched by the gītis, like dhruvā, bhrahma,

- 58. गैति गेर्य विदुः पाछा धेति कारुपवादन'।
 वेति वाष्ट्रस्य संशेय गान्धर्वस्य विरोचन'॥ —नारदीशिक्षा
- 59. ग-राष्ट्रेन गानं सक्ष्ययते, ध-कारेष ब-कारेष वैणिकस्य प्रवादनं, चाहुर्येन इस्ताङ्कुलिधारणं प्रवादन-पदेन कथिते ब-कारेण बादनं सक्षितं । —अदृशोभाकर (शिक्षासंग्रहः, ए० ४१०)
 - 60. गान्धर्वमिति विद्योगं स्वर-तास-पदाश्वयं ।

kapāla, kambala, māgadhī, ardha-māgadhī, prithulā and sambhāvitā. Matanga said,

Rāga-mārgasya yadrūpam yannoktam Bharatādibhih /

Nirūpyate tadāsmābhirlakṣya-lakṣaṇa-saṃyutaṃ |/61
The portion 'yannoktaṃ bharatādibhih' does not mean that Bharata and his followers, Kohala, Yāṣtika and others did never mention 'rāga', but it means that they mentioned and also used it in their system of music and fully knew its significance, though they did not define the word 'rāga' properly. Matanga interpreted the seven rāgas in terms of seven types of gīti, and they were: suddhā, vinnā or vinnakā, gaudī or gaudikā, rāga, sādhāraṇī, bhāṣā and vibhāṣā. There are differences of opinion among the ancient musicologists like Yāṣtika, Bharata, Śārdula, Durgāśakti and others, regarding numbers and names of the gītis, though Matanga mentioned them in his Bṛhaddeśī: 'sapto-gītyo mayā proktā idānīm bheda uchyate'.62

Matanga determined the characteristics of the rāga ('idānīm sampra-vakṣyāmi rāga-lakṣaṇamuttamam') and said that the seven rāgagītis differ in their manifestations and æsthetic values due to different settings of microtones and tones. As for example,

Mandrā mandraiścha tāraiścha rjubhirlalitaih samaih / Svaraiścha śrutibhih pūrņa chokṣā gīti-rudrāhṛta //63

Again he mentioned the $r\bar{a}gas$, evolved out of these $r\bar{a}gag\bar{\imath}tis$, bhinnā, etc. He said that five $r\bar{a}gas$ evolved from the bhinnā, three from the $gaud\bar{\imath}$, eight from the $r\bar{a}ga$, seven from the $s\bar{a}dh\bar{a}ran\bar{\imath}$, sixteen from the $bh\bar{a}s\bar{a}$, and twelve evolved from the $vibh\bar{a}s\bar{a}$. That is, the numbers of the $r\bar{a}gas$ evolved were

- 61. रागमार्गस्य यदरूपं यन्नोक्तं भरतादिभिः। निरूप्यते तदास्माभिर्लक्ष्य-लक्षण-संयुतं।। — बृहद्देशी
- 62. सप्त-गीत्यो मया प्रोक्ता इदानीं भेद उच्यते। वृहहे शी
- -63. मन्द्रा मन्द्रेश्च तारेश्च ऋजुभिर्त्त लितै: समै:।
 स्वरेश्च श्च तिभिः पूर्ण चोक्षा गीतिरुद्राहत ।। वृहद्देशी
- 64. पञ्च चोक्षाः समारुवातास्तत्प्रमाणाश्च भिन्नका ॥ गौदास्त्रयस्तु कथिता रागाश्चाष्टौ प्रकीर्तिताः।

5+3+8+7+16+12=51. The following $r\bar{a}gas$ evolved from the $r\bar{a}gag\bar{\imath}tis$.

- I. Bhinnā—ṣāḍava, panchama, kaisīka-madhyama, sādhārita and kaisīka=5
- II. Gaudi—bhinna-şadja, bhinna-kaisīka-madhyama and bhinna-panchama=3
- III. Rāga—ţḥaku or takka, sauvira, mālava-paāchama, şāḍava, botta, hindolaka or hindola, thakka-kaisīka, and mālava-kaisīka=8
- IV. Sādhāraņī—šaka, kakubha hārmāṇa-pañchama, rūpa-šādhārita, gāndhāra-pañchama and sadja-kaišīka=7

Matanga did not mention the bhāṣā-rāgas, evolved out of the three other rāgagītis. Śārangadeva (early thirteenth century) differed from him and said that grāmarāgas are of five kinds and they are accompanied by five gītis. As the gītis are sung with the help of the grāmarāgas, they are known as the 'rāgagītis'. The five rāgagītis are: suddhā, bhinnā gaudī, vesarā and sādhā-ranī, and thirty grāmarāgas evolved from these five gītis. Simha-bhupāla also admitted it, and said: 'militā grāmarāgāstrimsat'.

Bharata formulated in the Nātyašāstra four varņas and different alaṃkāras for fuller manifestation of the gītis, and, consequently, of the rāgas. Matanga, Pārśvadeva, Śārangadeva and other musicologists also adopted the scheme and method of Bharata with some changes in their interpretations and meanings. The four varņas are: ārohī, avarohī, sthāyī and sañchārī, and alaṁkāras, like prasannādi, prasannānta, etc. were added to them. Bharata said that the varņas are constructed out of the notes, which are saturated with emotional sentiments, and they are meant for the songs (gītayojaka). The ārohī and avarohī varņas are so called because their component notes are possessed of movements, upward and downward respectively. When the notes remain as constant and unchanging ('sthirāḥ svarāḥ samā

सप्त साधारणाः प्रोक्ता भावाश्चैवात्र पोढ्शः ॥ द्वादशैव विभाषाः स्यानांमानि च निवोध मे । yatra'),65 they are called as 'sthāyī', and when they move, they are known as 'sañchārī'. These four varņas appear in three different registers (sthānas), bass, medium, and high (mandra, madhya, and tāra), and their intonations and volumes of sounds manifest according to those registers ('tristhana-guna-gochara').66 sthāyī-varņa is a symbol of peace and balance, and the alamkāras like praśannādi, prasannāntas, prasannādyanta, prasannamadya, krama, rechita, prastāra and prasāda are included in it. The word 'prasada means 'calmness of the mind', which originates from the basic sentiment, śrngāra. The word śrngāra is generally mistranslated as a sex urge, but it really conveys the idea of primal creative impulse or will, which is philosophically known as the Cosmic Will or Prakṛti. In Tantra literature, it is known as Kāmakalā or Kundalinī, the coiling or unmanifested causal energy. The sthāyī varņas are mostly used in the Vedic songs like stotra, gāthā, and gānas like aranyegeya, grāmegeya, etc. with stobhas or stobhākşaras, and in the classical type of dhruvapada prabandha gītis. The sthāyī-varņas of the Vedic music, together with stobhas, used to create some majestic and peaceful atmosphere.

Now what does the alamkāra, prasannā i of the sthāyī-varņa mean? Bharata said that the alamkāra, prasannādi is that which makes the notes gradually shining: 'kramaśa dīptito yaḥ syāt'.67 The words 'kramaśa dīptitaḥ' convey the idea of degrees of intensity in the act of shining, and these degrees are the higher pitch. The tonic, şadja is the navel or primal tone of evey kind of alamkāra, and it helps gradually to manifest pañchama, dhaivata, and niṣāda in the first alamkāra, prasannādi. In this process, the number of vibrations of the tonal sounds grows more and more greater and higher, so that the pitchvalue of the note, ṛṣabha is higher than that of the note ṣadja,

^{65.} स्थिराः स्वराः समा यत्र ।

^{66.} त्रिस्थान-गुणगोचर।

^{67.} क्रमश दीप्तितो यः स्यात्।

and the pitch-value of gandhara is higher than that of rsabha, and so on. This process is found in the Taittirlya-Prâtisākhva, where the evolutions of the Vedic notes. krusta, brathama dvitiya, etc. are explained. In the 13th aphorism of the Prātisākhya, it is said: " * tesām dīptijnopalabdhīh'.68 The commentator Somacharya made it explicit when he said: 'teşām khalu sapta-yamānām uttarottara-diptijā pūrva-pūrvopalabdhih syāt',69 etc. Prof. W. D. Whitney explained it in a different way and said that the word 'dipti' indicates 'the source of light'. But Prof. Whitney, we think, failed to appreciate the true significance of the word dipti, because dipti really signifies the idea of light which means realization of the value of the notes. To make it clear it can be said that the second note is realized with its pitch-value or intensity from the first one, the third one from the second one, the fourth from the third one, and so on. Such is the case with the notes of the formalized regional classical (dest) music.

The note sadja bears the significance of giving birth (i.e. making shining) to other six notes: 'sat jāyate yaṣmāt'. It should be remembered that the seven notes manifest in the prasannādi-alamkāra and are uttered in connected way, and not separately, e.g. sa ri ga ma pa dha ni, and when they manifest separately ('vyastocchārita'), 70 they form the alam-

kāra, prasannānta. Bharata also mentioned about the application of different microtones (*srutis*) in different alamkāras of the sthāyī-varṇa, and his explanation or elucidation of the alamkāras are very lucid and convincing (vide the Nātyašāstra, Kāvyamālā ed., chap. 29th, 17-86).

In the Brhaddesi, Matanga (fifth-seventh century A.D.) followed Bharata, though his method of interpretation of the terms were different to some extent. He said that the word 'varna' connotes the idea of song ('varna-sabdena gānamabhidhi-

^{68.} तेषां दीप्रिज्ञोपलव्धिः।

^{69.} तेवां खलु सप्त यमानां उत्तरोत्तर-दीक्षिजा पूर्व पूर्वीयल्डिश: स्यात ।

^{70.} व्यस्तोच्चारित।

yate'),71 whereas Bharata said that the varnas are meant for the songs: 'ete varņāstu * * gīta-yojakaḥ'.72

Sārangadeva (early thirteenth century) followed Muni Bharata, but his method of interpretations of varnas and alamkāras in the Sangīta-Ratnākara are different. He rather made a new approach in defining and elucidating the varnas and alamkāras. He defined varņa as 'gāna-kriyā' (vide Sangīta-Ratnākara, 1.6.1). Now, what is the 'gāna-kriyā'? Kallināth said that the word gana-kriya conveys the idea of expansion or elaboration of the notes, or the stanzas: 'svara-padade varnanādvistāra-karaṇāt',73 as for example, sa-sa-sa, ri-ri-ri, etc. Simhabhupāla described varna as the method of helping the intonations of the notes: 'gāna-kriyā gāna-karaṇaṃ ucchāraṇaṃ iti yāvat'.74 The varņas are of four kinds, and the sthāyī-varņa, said Śārangadeva, is used with some definite pause: 'sthityā sthitvā prayogah syāt'.75 Simhabhupāla explained that sthāyīvarna is the lengthening of pronunciation or intonation: 'vilamvya vilamvya * * ucchāraṇam'. 76 But Bharata did not admit any of these definitions, as, according him, the notes of the sthāyī-varṇa are used without any change or delay. He said: 'sthirāh svarāh samā yatra', i.e., the notes will be intonated or uttered slowly and also in the same process. Sarangadeva said that importance of the varnas is for definite intonation and elaborate manifestation of the songs (gītis), and the alamkāras are the combinations of the varnas (varna-sandharva). Bharata did not agree with Sarangadeva in this matter. He said that the alamkāras are helpful and cling to the varnas (varna-samsrayah). Simhabhupāla made the contentions of Bharata and Sārangadeva more explicit, when he said that the gilis are pleasant to the musicians and

वर्ण-शब्देन गानमभिधीयते । 71.

^{72.} एते वर्णास्तु * * गीतयोजकः। 73.

स्वर-पदादे वर्णनाद विस्तारकरणात । 74.

गानिक्रया गानकरणं उच्चारणं इति यावत ।

^{75.} स्थित्वा स्थित्वा प्रयोगः स्यात ।

^{76.} विलम्ब्य विलम्ब्य * * उच्चारणम्।

listeners for the varṇas and alamkāras: "* giti-gātṛ-śrotṛṇāṃ sukhāvahā bhavatīti'.' Śāraṅgadeva defined the alamkāra prasannādi as the combination of two bass notes and one high note, e.g. şa şa sa. That is, two bass notes will be intonated first and then a high note is uttered separately. But this definition of prasannādi of Śāraṅgadeva is different from that of Bharata of the Nātyaśāstra. Such is also the case with other alamkāras.

The noted South Indian musicologist Venkatamakhi also dealt with the problem of alamkāra in his Chaturdandīprakāsikā. He said that according to Śārangadeva, alamkāras are 63 in number: 'te cha triṣaṣti-ruditāh Śārangadevena-sūriṇā'. 78 At the end of the varṇālamkāra chapter, Śārangadeva admitted it: 'iti prasiddha-alamkārāstri-ṣaṣti-ruditā mayā'. 79 But Venkatamakhī did neither follow Bharata, nor Śārangadeva in respect of the alamkāras. He defined the alamkāras like jhonpta, dhruva, mantha, rūpaka, jhampa, triputa, etc. which are helpful to the notes of the gītis. Venkatamakhī's jhompta (alamkāra) is similar to ārohī and avarohī varnas combined.

Now, we find that though the three outstanding musicologists, Bharata, Sārangadeva and Venkatamakhī differed from one another regarding varnas and alamkāras, yet they admitted the importance of them for definite and clear manifestation of the notes (svaras) and the songs (gītis). The music of India is enriched by their precious contributions, and they will remain as the guiding stars to the lovers of music and musicology of not only of India, but also of all the civilized nations of the world.

The grāmarāgas evolved from the two ancient basic scales (grāmas), şadja and madhyama. From the fifty-one (according to Matanga) or thirty (according to Śārangadeva) grāmarāgas, various subordinate (bhāṣā) rāgas evolved. From bhāṣā, evolved

^{77.} मीति-गात्-श्रीतृणां सुखावहां भवतीति।

^{78.} ते च त्रिपष्टिरुदिताः शारङ्गदेवेन-सूरिणा ।

^{79.} इति प्रसिद्ध अलंकारास्त्रिपष्टिरुदिता म्या।

vibhāṣā or vibhāṣikā rāgas, and from vibhāṣā antarabhāṣā rāgas came into being. Matanga said,

Grāmarāgodbhavā bhāṣā bhāṣābhyaścha vibhāṣikāḥ / Vibhāṣābhyaścha sañjātastathā chāntara-bhāṣikāḥ //80

The bhāṣā-rāgas are so called because they evolved from the grāmarāgas. These bhāṣā or subordinate rāgas are divided into four classes, mūla (main), samkīrņa (mixed), dešaja (evolved from the regional tunes), and cchāyāmātrāsrayā (evolved as parts). Again these rāgas are classified into rāgānga, bhāṣānga, kriyānga, and upānga. Kallināth defined these anga-rāgas in the second part of the raga chapter of the Sangita-Ratnakara. He said that the rāgas, evolved out of the main rāgas, are known as rāgānga: 'grāmoktānām tu rāgānām cchāyāmātram bhavediti * rāgāngastena hetunā'.81 The bhāsānga-rāgas are the upshoot of the bhāṣā-rāgas, etc. All these anga-rāgas are known as the formadesi-rāgas, because they were adopted from different aboriginal tunes of different parts of India. In fact, the folk songs are the basic ones and from them art music developed in a gradual process. Kallināth said : 'rāgāngādi-chatuştayan deśi-rāgatayā proktamiti',82 i.e. the rāgas are known as regional, because they are sung at the free will of the people in general, and no śāstric rules can be imposed upon them: 'deśītvam nāma kāmāchāra-pravartitvam' 83

Venkatamakhi (1620 A.D.) was of the opinion that Bharata and others admitted ten grāmarāgas, among which six are of mārga type and four are of desī or regional type. He stated,

Rāgāstāvaddaśavidhā bharatādyai-rudīritāh / Grāmarāgāśchoparāgā-rāgā-bhāṣā-vibhāṣikāḥ // Tathaivāntarabhāṣākhyā rāgāṅgākhyāstataḥ paraṃ / Bhāṣāṅgāni kriyāṅgāni hyupāṅgānīti cha kramāt //

- 80. ग्रामरागोद्भवा भाषा भाषाभ्यश्च विभाषिकाः। विभाषाभ्यश्च सञ्जातस्तथा चान्तरभाषिकाः।
- 81. ग्रामोकानां तु रागाणां छायामात्रां भवेद्ित । रागाञ्चरतेन हेत्रना।
- 82. रागाङ्कादि चतुष्टयं देशीरागतया प्रोक्तमिति।
- 83. देशीत्वं नाम कामाचारप्रवर्तित्व'।

Daśasveteşu rāgeşu grāmarāgādayah punah / Rāgāstvantarabhāṣāntā mārga-rāgā bhavanti ṣat // Tato gandharvalokena prayojyāste vyavasthitāh / Tasmād-rāgāṅga-bhāṣāṅga-kriyāṅgopāṅga samjñitā / Rāgaschatvāra evaite deśīrāgāḥ prakîrtitāh //84

The contention of Venkatamakhī is that the mārga type of the grāmarāgas were exclusively practised by the semi-divine Gandharvas, whereas the desīrāgas by the people in general. But from history we know that the grāmarāgas were widely cultured by men and women in the times of Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Harivaṃśa (400 B.C.—200 B.C.). Nārada also mentioned seven kinds of grāmarāgas in the 'Sikṣā'. So, when Venkatamakhī said: 'tato gandharva-lokena prayajyaste', it meant that the six mārga-grāmarāgas were gandharva type of music, and they

84. रागास्तावदृशिवधा भरताधे रुदीरिताः ।

ग्रामरागाश्चोपरामा रागा-भाषा-विभाषिकाः ।।

तथैवान्तरभाषारूया रागांगारूयास्ततः परं ।

भाषांगानि क्रियांगानि ह्युपांगानीति च क्रमात् ॥

दशस्वेतेषु रागेषु ग्रामरागादयः पुनः ।

रागास्त्वन्तरभाषान्ता मार्गरागा भवन्ति षट् ॥

ततो गन्धर्वस्रोकेन प्रयोज्यास्ते व्यवस्थिताः ।

तस्माद्रागांग-भाषांग-क्रियांगोषांग संज्ञिताः ॥

रागाश्चत्वार एवैते देशीरागाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

—चतुर्दण्डीप्रकाशिका (माद्राज सं), पृः ५७

Śārangadeva said,

सर्वेषामिति रागाणां मिलितानाम् शतहयं । चतुःषष्ट्याधिकं ब्रुते शाङ्गीं स्त्रीकरणाप्रणीः ॥

That is, the rāgas are 264 in number: (a) grāmarāga 30 + uparāga 8 + rāga 20 + bhāṣārāga 96 + vibhāṣārāga 20 + antarabhāṣā-rāga 4 + rāgānga 21 + bhāṣānga 20 + kriyānga 15 + upānga 30 = 264.

(b) grāmarāga 30 + uparāga 8 + rāga 20 + bhāsā 96 + vibhāsā 20 + antarabhāsā 4 + (ancient) rāgānga 8 + bhāsānga 11 + kriyānga 12 + upānga 3 + (modern) rāgānga 13 + bhāsānga 9 + krīyānga 3 + upānga 27 = 264 (vide Sangīta-Ratnākara, Adyar ed.), pt. II, pp. 12-13. gradually were extinct in the human society. Such was the case of the gāndhāra-grāma. The word 'gandharva-loka' signifies the region of the semi-divine Gandharvas. It was believed that the gāndharva type of music was very favourite to the Gandharvas, and Bharata admitted it in his Nātyaśāstra. It is probable that when gāndharva type of music gradually fell into oblivion from the human community, its practice was limited only to the Gandharvas. Further Venkatamakhī's statement: 'rāgāstvantarabhāṣāntā mārgarāgā bhavanti ṣat' is also supported by Kallināth, when he said: 'gāndharvam mārgaḥ * * svaragatarāga-vivekayor-jātyādyantarabhā-ṣāntam yaduktam tad-gāndharvamityarthaḥ'.85

We have already said that pure type of the $j\bar{a}tir\bar{a}gas$ are the caste $(j\bar{a}ti)$ or basic melodies. They evolved probably in the beginning of the classical period (600—500 B.C.). They were gradually developed, and, in Bharata's $N\bar{a}tyas\bar{a}stra$, we find eleven more mixed $j\bar{a}tir\bar{a}gas$, and their number became eighteen (7+11=18). From them, as has already been said, there evolved six $gr\bar{a}mar\bar{a}gas$, which again gave rise to various $upar\bar{a}gas$. From the $upar\bar{a}gas$, different $bh\bar{a}s\bar{a}-r\bar{a}gas$, from the $bh\bar{a}s\bar{a}s$, the $vibh\bar{a}s\bar{a}s$, and from the $vibh\bar{a}s\bar{a}s$, different $antarabh\bar{a}s\bar{a}s$ $r\bar{a}gas$ evolved through the process of gradual progression.

Again, a neo-creative urge among the progressive community of people gave birth to different types of the formalized regional or folk tunes in the form of śāstric classical melodies. The post-Bharata playwrights, musicologists and musicians had broad vision in them, so they enriched the treasure of Aryan music by adopting various non-Aryan (folk) and some foreign tunes. The deśī class of music, like rāgānga, bhāṣānga, kriyānga and upānga evolved side by side of the bhāṣā, vibhāṣā and antarabhāṣā rāgas to suit the taste of the progressive society. A chart is given here below showing the distinction of these rāgas from the jātis and the formalized deśī-rāgas.

^{85.} गान्धर्व' मार्गः * स्वरगतरागविव कयोर्जात्यद्यन्तरभाषान्तं यदुक्तं तद् गान्धर्व-मित्यर्थः।

The rāgas that evolved and were current from 600 B.C. to the second-third century A.D.:

Nos.	Grāmas	Pure & Mixed	Mixed	Jātirāgas
1.	Şadja	Pure	-	Şādjī
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.	,,	33	<u> </u>	Arsabhi
35	Madhyama	>>	-	Gåndhäri
∐4.	,,	2)	<u> </u>	Madhyamā
5.	_ 21_	>>	<u> </u>	Patichami
6,	Sadja ("	<u> </u>	Dhaivātī
7.	29		aa > > = = = = = = = = = = = = = = = =	Naisādī
8.	,,	Mixed	Şādjī + Gāndhāri	Sadja-kaišīkī
9.	,,	"	Şādjī + Gāndhārī +	Sadjodichyava
	{		Dhaivati	
10.	ا بن ما	"	Şādjī + Madhyamā	Sadja-madhyamā
11.	Madhyama	>3	Gändhari + Dhaivati +	Gandharodichyava
			Şādjī + Madhyamā	- 1
12.) ,,	>>	Gāndhārī + Naisādī +	Raktagāndhārī
10	1		Panchami + Madhyamā	77 - 1/01-2
13.) ,,	>>	Şădji + Gändhārī +	Kaiśīkī
			Madhyamā + Panchamī	
14,			Naiṣādī Gāndhārī + Dhaivatī +	Madhyamovi-
	**	**	Panchami + Madhyama	chyavā
15.	i l		Naisadî + Ārsabhī +	Karmāravī
13,	39	**	Panchami	Karmaravi
16.	i l		Gandharī + Panchamī	Gāndhāra-
10.	, »	"	Gandhai 1 + Fanchami	Pañchami
17.			Gāndbārī + Ārṣabbī	Āndhrī
18.	"	"	Ganddari + Arşabii Gandhari + Pañchami	Nandayanti
10,	j "	>1	+ Ārsabhī	Ivanuayanti

Now, it may be asked as to what where the forms and manifestations of the suddha-jātis or pure type of jātirāgas which were current from the time of Rāmāyaṇa (400 B.C.) down to that of Bharata's Natyasāstra (second century A.D.). If we critically study Bharata's Nātyasāstra, Matanga's Brhaddest, and Sārangadeva's Sangīta-Ratnākara, we get an idea of them. Bharata said that sādjī used to be presented in three forms, heptatonic (sampūrṇa), hexatonic (sādava), and pentatonic (audava). That is, when rṣabha and niṣāda were dropped, it manifested as the pentatonic jātirāga, and when niṣāda was dropped, it was known as hexatonic. Both the first and the sixth notes were used as sonants (amsa or vādī). There were harmonic relations

between the first and the third, and the first and the sixth notes. Three kinds of units (kalās) were used in the jātirāgas, and they were ekakalā, dvikalā, and chatuşkalā.

I. The sādjī was used with the dramatic songs (nātya-gītis), māgadhī, ardha-māgadhī, sambhāvitā, and prithulā according to the numbers or units (kalā) used in it. In the first act of the dramatic play, the jātirāga, sādjī was used with the dhruvāgīti, naiṣkrāmakī. Śāraṅgadeva gave the notations of the jātirāga, ṣādjī with the composition (sāhitya) of the prabandatype of brahmagīti, which is believed to be composed by Bhahmābharata of the 600-500 B.C. The notations are,

sa sa sa sa pa ni-dha tam bha va la lā 0 ta 0 ri ga-ma ga ga sa ri-ga dha-sa dha na ya nām 0 0 vu jā dhi sa ri ga sa sa sa sa / kam 0 0 0 0 0

II. The $\bar{a}r_sabh\bar{\imath}$ used to be presented as heptatonic, hexatonic, and pentatonic. When the tonic, sadja was left out, it was known as hexatonic, and when the tonic and the fifth were dropped, it was manifested as pentatonic. The notes, r_sabha , dhaivata, and $nis\bar{a}da$ were used as the sonants. The rhythm like chacchatputa with eight units (kalās) accompanied it. It was generally used in the dramatic song, $naiskramik\bar{\imath}$ (dhruvāgīti).

III. The gāndhārī used to be manifested sometimes with seven notes, sometimes with six, when rṣabha was dropped, and sometimes with five notes, when rṣabha and dhaivata were left out. It used to be played upto the notes, rṣabha and dhaivata of both the registers, bass and high. It manifested with sixteen units (kalā) and the rhythm, chacchatputa-tāla. It was used in the dramatic song, prāvešikā or prāvešikī (dhruvā).

IV. The madhyamā-jātirāga used to be manifested in three tonal forms, heptatonic, hexatonic, and pentatonic. When

^{86.} र्तं भव-ललाट-नयनाम्ब जाधिकं। नगसूनु-प्रणय-केलि-समुङ्गवम्।।

the note gāndhāra was dropped, it was known as hexatonic, and when both gāndhāra and niṣāda were left out, it was called pentatonic. The five notes, ṣadja, rṣabha, madhyama, paāchama and dhaivata were used as the sonant (amsa) alternately. The notes ṣadja and madhyama were used profusely, while lesser number of gāndhāra was used. Eight units (kalās or mātrās) and rhythm like chacchatputa were added to it.

V. The panchami used to be manifested with its sonants, tsabha and panchama. The final (nyāsa) note was panchama. The notes, sadja, madhyama, and gāndhāra were used sparingly. There was a harmonic relation between rsabha and gāndhāra. Eight kinds of units (kalās), together with the rhythm chacchat-puta, were used in it.

VI. The dhaivatī was sung as a hexatonic jātirāga, when the fifth note was dropped, and as pentatonic, when both the notes sadja and pañchama were dropped. It was determined by the rsabha-mūrechanā, and was used with the dramatic song dhruvāgīti), prāvešikī.

VII. The naişādī had its sonants, rṣabha, gāndhāra, and niṣāda. Ṣadja, madhyama and pañchama, were used in greater number. It used to be manifested as hexatonic, when pañchama was dropped, and as pentatonic, when ṣadja and pañchama were left out. It was used with the dramatic song, naiṣkrāmikī. The rhythm like chacchatputa with sixteen units (kalās) was used in it

Matanga fully dealt with the forms and characteristics of the seven pure jātirāgas in his Brhaddesī (Trivāndrum ed., 1930, pp. 70-73). Sārangadeva also described about them fully in his Sangīta-Ratnākara. The jātirāgas were exclusively meant for the dramatic purpose. Their forms might have been more developed during the times of Bharata and Matanga, but they were traditionally cultured from the times of the Rāmā-yaṇa (400 B.C.) and the Mahābhārata (300 B.C.).

It has already been said that the grāmarāgas evolved from the jātirāgas, and references of them are found in the Mahā-bhārata, Harivamśa and Nāradīśiksā and other books. Nārada

described, in short, their tonal forms and characteristics in his Siksā, but their detailed descriptions are found in Sārangadeva's Sangīta-Ratnākara. Regarding the grāmarāgas, Nārada said in the Siksā:

I. Ŗṣabhotthitaḥ ṣaḍjahato dhaivata-sahitaścha

pañchamo yatra /

Nipatati madhyama-räge tannişādam şādavam

vidyāt //87

That is, when the gramaraga is sung with the five notes, rsaba sadja, dhaivata, pañchama, and nisāda in the medium basic scale (madhyama-grāma), it is known as the sādava.

II. Yadi pañchamo viramate gandharaschantara-

svaro bhavati /

Rṣabho niṣāda-sahitastam pañchamamidṛśam

When panchama rests on madhyama, the gramaraga, panchama is evolved with the notes, gāndhāra, rṣabha and niṣāda.

Gāndhārasyādhipatyena niṣādasya gatāgataih / Dhaivatasya cha daurvalyan madhyama-grama-

muchyate //89 When gāndhāra is used profusely, niṣāda is used repeatedly, dhaivata becomes weak i.e. dhaivata is used, sparingly and the notes, sadja and rsabha are used, the grāmarāga that evolves, is known as the madhyama.

- IV. Işatspışto nişādasyastu gāndhāraschādhiko bhavet / Dhaivatah kampito yatra şadjagrāmam tu nirdiśet //90
- ऋवभोत्थितः पड्जहतो धैनतसहितश्च पञ्चमो यत्र । निपतति मध्यमरागे तिचयादं पाइंवं विद्यात्।।
- यदि पञ्चमो विरमते गान्धारश्चान्तरस्वरो भवति । ऋषभो निवादसहितस्तं पञ्चममीहशं विद्यात् ॥
- गान्धारस्याधिपत्येन निषादस्य गतागतै:। धैवतस्य च दौर्व ल्यान् मध्यमग्राममुच्यते ।।
- 90. ईषत्सपृष्टो निषादस्यस्तु गान्धारश्चाधिको भव त । धेवतः कम्पितो यत्र पड् जम्रामं तु निर्दिशेत्।।

When sadja is used, nisāda is sparingly used, gāndhāra is used in a greater number, dhaivata used to vibrate, and when it touches the other notes, the tonal form that evolves out of them, is called the sadjagrāma. It is presented at the free will of the artists.

V. Antarah svara-samyuktā kākalir-yatra dr
śyate / Tam tu sādhāritam vidyāt-pañchamastham tu kaisikam //91

When niṣāda appears as kaiṣīka, composed of two microtones of its own plus two microtones of the note ṣadja, and gāndhāra appears with four microtonal units (two of its own plus two of the note madhyama), and madhyama appears as madhyama-sādhāraṇa, it is called the sādhārita.

VI. Kaiśīkam bhāvayitvā tu svaraih sarvaih samantatah /

Yasmāt tu madhyame nyāsastasmāt kaišīka-madhyamaḥ //92

When all the notes of the kaisīka-grāmarāga are used, and madhyama is used as the final note, the grāmarāga is known as the kaisīka-madhyama.

VII. Kākalir-dršyate yatra prādhānyam

pañchamasya tu /

Kasyapalı kaisikam prāha madhyama-

grāma-sambhavam //93

Nārada said that when $k\bar{a}kali-nis\bar{a}da$ is used and $pa\bar{n}chama$ is not prominent, the $gr\bar{a}mar\bar{a}ga$, $kais\bar{i}ka$ evolves from the medium basic scale. These $gr\bar{a}mar\bar{a}gas$ are similar in forms to those of the $r\bar{a}gas$, depicted in the Kudimiyāmalai Inscription.

- 91. अन्तरः स्वरसंयुक्ता काकलिर्यंत्र दृश्यते । तं तु साधारितं विधात पञ्चमस्थं तु कैशीकं ।।
- 92. केशीकं भावियत्वा तु स्वरेः सवे ः समन्ततः । यदमात् तु मध्यमे न्यासस्तस्मात केशीकमध्यमः ॥
- 93. काकलिह श्यते यत्र प्राधान्यं पञ्चमस्य हु। कश्यवः केशीकं प्राह मध्यमग्रामसम्भवम् ॥

In the early thirteenth century, we find many changes in tonal forms and manifestations of the grāmarāgas. Then the gandharva type of music was absolutely replaced by the classical dest one. Many other modified forms of the new grāmarāgas evolved at that time. Śārangadeva gave detailed descriptions of the grāmarāgas, şadjagrāma, śuddha-kaiśīka, bhinnakaiśīka-madhyama, bhinnatāna, bhinna-kaiśīka, etc. Regarding the sadjagrāma, he said that it was composed of seven notes, its final (nyāsa) note was madhyama, and sadja was upanyāsa, and in decent (avarohane) prasanānta-mūrcchanā was in use. form of the murcchana was 'sa-ni-dha-pa-ma-ga-ri-sa'. şadja-mūrcchanā also enriched the grāmarāga. The kākali-nisāda and antara-gandhara were used in it, and they were impregnated with the æsthetic sentiments, veera, raudra, and adbhuta. The şadjagrāmarāga evolved from the şadjagrāma and was sung during the rainy season, in the first part of the day. description of the sadjagrāmarāga is different from that of the Nāradīśikṣā. Thus we find that when the formalization of the regional tunes was in process, the forms of the grāmarāgas were changed to some extent, and the pure types of them were gradually replaced by the mixed and new ones.

We have already mentioned that the grāmarāgas evolved from the gītis or rāgagītis, as depicted in Matanga's Brhaddeśī. Now let us enumerate the grāmarāgas and the formalized deśīrāgas, as described by Śārangadeva in the Sangīta-Ratnākara:

CHART II

Rāgagīti	
1. Śuddhā	Latter form of Grāmarāgas
1. Suddha	şadjagrāma, madhyamagrāma, śuddha-kaiśīka, śuddha-pañchama, śuddha-kaiśīka-madhyama, śuddha-sādhā-ita ()
2. Bhinnā	··· bhinna-panchama
3. Gauḍī	kaiśika, bhinnatāna, bhinna-ṣadja, bhinna- kaiśika, bhinnatāna, bhinna-kaiśika-madhyama. gauḍa-kaiśika, gauḍa-pañchama, gauḍa-kaiśika- madhyama.

	Rägagīti	Latter form of Grāmarāgas
4.	Vesarā	sauvira, ṭḥakka, botta, mālava-kauśika, ṭḥakka-kauśika, hindola, mālava-pañchama, vesarā-ṣāḍava.
5.	Sādhāraņī	rūpa-sādhārita, śaka, bhaṣmāṇa-pañchama, nartta, gāndhāra-pañchama, ṣaḍja-kaiśīka, kakubha.

CHART III

Serial No.	Rāgas	Number of Rāgas	
1.	. Rāga	Twenty	
2.	Rāgāngāņi, current		
	in ancient times	Eight	
3.	Bhāṣāṅgǎṇi	Eleven	
4.	Kriyāngāņi	Twelve	
5.	Rägängäni	Three	
6.	Upāngāņi, current		
	in modern times	Thirteen	
7.	Bhāṣāṅgāṇi (modern)	Nine	
8.	Upāngāņi (modern)	Twenty-seven	

CHART IV

Serial No.	Description of Ragas	Number	
1,	Grāma-rāga	Thirty	
2.	Upa-råga	Eight	
3.	Rāga	Twenty	
4.	Rāgāngāņi, current in ancient times	Eight -	
5.	Bhāsāṅgāṇi (do)	Eleven	
6.	Kriyāngāni (do)	Twelve	
7.	Upāngāni (do)	Three	
8.	Bhāsā-rāga (do)	Nincty-six	
9.	Bibhāṣā-rāga (do)	Twenty	
10.	Antara-bhāṣā (do)	Four	
11.	Rägas, current in modern times	Thirteen	

Serial No.	Description of Ragas	Number
12.	Bhāṣāṅgāṇi (do)	Nine
13.	Kriyangani (do)	Three
14.	Upāngāni (do)	Twenty-seven

That is, from the six or seven basic grāmarāgas, şadjagrāma, madhyamagrāma, (śuddha)-kaiśīka, śuddha-pañchama, (śuddha)kaisīka-madhyama, (śuddha)-sādhārita, and (śuddha)-sādava,94 and also from other (twenty-three) grāmarāgas those evolved from the rāgagītis, bhinnā, gaudī, vasarā and sādhāraņī, fifteen bhāsārāgas (= bhā ṣā, vibhā ṣā and antarabhā ṣā), sauvira, kakubha, thakka, panchama, bhinna-panchama, thakka-kaisika, hindola, botta, malavakaisīka, gāndhāra-panchama, bhinna-sadja, vesarā-sādava, mālavapañchama, bhinna-tana, and pañchama-sadava evolved. Again from these different types of bhāṣā-rāgas, other bhāṣā-uparāgas, like sauvirī, vegamadhyama, sādhārita, gāndhārī, etc. (hundred and forty-seven) evolved. Besides them, different deśi-rāgas and upa-rāgas evolved as rāgānga, bhāṣānga, kriyānga and upānga. The anga-rāgas were śankarābharana, ghantārava, dīpaka, cchāyā, etc. (thirty-four bhāṣā or subordinate rāgas). It should be noted that different kinds of ragas of the 'kr' stock also evolved as the kriyānga-rāgas, and they were twelve in number and sometimes more than that. The bhāṣā-rāgas were known as 'ancient ones' (pūrva-prasiddha). There evolved again forty-nine modern types of rāgas, and they were: madhyamādī, mālavaśrī, todi, bāngāla, bhairava, varātī, gurjari, gauda, kolāhala, vasanta, dhānaśī, deśī, deśākhya, dombakrī (afterwards vāgeśrī), prathama-mañjarī, śuddhavarātikā, āśāvarī, ādi-kāmoda, nāgadhvani, velāvalī, natta, karņāta-

Śārangadeva estimated the total number of the $r\bar{a}gas$ ($gr\bar{a}maragas$ and all kinds of $bh\bar{a}s\bar{a}-r\bar{a}ga$) as 264,95 and they are:

^{94.} It has already been mentioned that when kaiśīka and kaiśīka-madhyama are considered as one and the same rāga i.e. grāmarāga, the numbers of the basic grāmarāga are six.

^{95.} They have been mentioned before.

Grāmarāgas		30	Bhāṣāṅgas	•••	11
Upa-rāgas	•••	8	Kriyāngas	•••	12
Rāgas	•••	20	Upāngas	***	3
Bhāṣā-rāgas		96	Rāgāngas (mo	dern)	13
Vibhāṣā-rāgas	***	20	Bhāṣāṅgas	•••	9
Antarabhāṣās	•••	4	Kriyāṅgas	•••	3
Rāgāngas (ancie	ent)	8	Upāṅgas	•••	27
				Total =	= 264

In the Sangitasāra by the philosopher-musician, Mādhava-Vidyāraņya (14th-15th century A.D.), we clearly find the genus-species (janya-janaka) scheme for the first time in the domain of Indian music. Vidyāranya classified 15 basic and 50 subordinate rāgas. It seems that following the method of Vidyāranya, Kṛṣṇadās in the Gita-prakāša, Paṇdit Puṇdarika-Vitthala in the Sadrāgachandrodya, Rāmamātya in the Svaremelakalānidhi, Somanāth in the Rāga-vibodha, Govinda-Dīksita in the Sangītasudhā, Venkatamakhī in the Caturdandīprakāsikā, Tulijā in the Sangītasārāmīta, Lochana-kavi in the Rāgataranginī, Nārada (IV) in the Rāganirūpana, Ahobala in the Saigītapārijāta, Śrīnivāsa in the Rāgatattvavibodha, Hrdaya-Nārāyana in the Hidayakautuka, Rājā Gajapati Nārāyana-deva in the Sangita-nārāyana, Kavi Nārāyana in the Sangita-sarani, Laksmī-Nārāvana in the Sangita-sūryodaya, Gopināth in the Kavichintāmani have classified and discussed various main and subordinate ragas, in different periods. Some of them were original in their methods and interpretations, and some were only the compilers. So, some differences of opinion in the methods and divisions of the ragas were inevitable. Generally we come across different views, regarding the names and classifications of the ragas, and those views are ascribed to the authorities of the ancient authors like Brahmā. Siva or Sadāśiva, Bharata, Matanga, Kohala, Nārada, Someśvara, Kallināth and others. But it is very difficult to correctly ascertain their genuine authorship and views. As for example, Brahmā, who was no other than Brahmābharata of the early sixth-fifth century B.C., was purely the expounder of the gandharva or marga type of

Pandit Mahavaidya-Natha-Sivan found out a formulative process of evolution of the South Indian 72 melakartās or melas. He said in his The Mahā-Rāga-Mālikā (1937) that by the combination and permutation of 16 notes, sa; ra, ri, ru; ga, gi, gu; ma, mi; pa; dha, dhi, dhu, na, ni and nu, Venkatamakhī described 72 melakartās. Any kind of crooked order or vakra-gati is not used in his 72 melakartās. So there are only 6 possible combinations of two varying notes in the pūrvānga, 'ri and ga', and 6 combinations of 'dha and ni' in the uttarānga. Any one of the 6 combinations of 'ri and ga' in the pūrvānga might be combined with any one of the 6 combinations of 'dha and ni' in the uttarānga. We get, therefore, 6×6=36 variations of the melakartās in the śuddha-madhyama set. Similarly, another set of 36 melakartās are found with the prati-madhyama, total number of which is 72 melakartās.

R. Śrīnivāsan is of the opinion: "A rāga is a succession of notes, the notes being chosen and combined in certain definite ways. In the first place, we have what are called the melakartās—the major types—in which all the seven notes of a scale occur in their natural order, both in the ascending and the descending scales. They are seventy-two in number and are generally divided into two groups of thirty-six each, according to whether they have the śuddha-madhyama or prati-madhyama-F or F-sharp. It is not difficult to see how seventy-two ragas are possible. We must have 'sa' to start with, then we must have a 'ri', a 'ga', a 'ma', then a 'pa' and then a 'dha' and a 'ni'. For 'ma' we get thirty-six ways of combining these; and so we get seventy-two on the whole. If we took the fifty-three sruti each (as R. H. M. Bosanquet admitted) and worked up the ragas on the above mentioned principle, we should get 396,900 major or melakartā-rāgas; on the other hand, the twenty-two śruti-scale give 1,024. But at present only about twenty to twenty-five of these seventy-two96 melakartās

^{96.} It is said that only 19 out of 72 melakartās were current in Venkatamakhī's times.

^{97.} Indian Art and Art-Crafts (Madras, 1923), pp. 16-17.

Paṇḍit V. N. Bhātkhaṇḍe devised 10 melas to determine the rāgas of the North Indian system of music. Paṇḍit Lochana-kavi (1560 A.D.) devised 12 saṃsthānas or melas for determination of all kinds of rāgas before him, but Bhātkhaṇḍejī made his division of the melas more simple. Let us illustrate those 10 melas, having its standard scale (śuddha-mela) as vilābala, compared to 10 corresponding mela-kartās of the South Indian system of music:

CHART V

Serial No.	Hindusthäni	Carnātic	10 melas of the Hindusthäni System
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.	Kalyāna Vilābala Khāmbāj Bhairava Pūrvī Mārowā Kāphī Āšāvarī Bhairavī	Kalyāni Sankarābharanam Kambodhī or Hari-kambodhī Māyāmālavagaula Kāmavardhanī Gamakakīya Kharaharapriyā Natabhairavī Todi or Hanumantodi	Sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni sa-ri-ga-ma-pa-dha-ni

The melas (or thātas) are known as the melakartās (the basic scales) in the South Indian or Carnatic system of music. Seventy-two melakartās were devised according to the rules of the notes (svaras), and Venkatamakhi conceived that a melakartā need not be heptatonic (sampūrņa) in ascent and descent (ārohaṇa and avarohaṇa), but that it should be

^{98.} The italics indicate the flat (komala) notes.

harmonious and sweet. "Basing himself on these fundamentals he followed certain principles with reference to the vivādī-combinations. In case of śuddha-gāndhāra, he realised that 'sa ri ga ma' cannot be melodious, but 'ma ga ri sa' could be melodious by the adoption of the gamaka called jāra. Likewise with reference 'to śuddha-niṣāda he realized that 'pa dha ni sa' would not be melodious, but 'sa ni dha pa' could be melodious." The gamakas, called jāru, were utilised. Thus it happened that in the first melakartā, Venkatamakhī adopted 'sa ri ma pa dha sa'; and 'sa ni dha pa ma ga ri sa' as the lakṣaṇa (sign) of the melakartā, and that structure was known as Kanakāmbari."

In dealing with satśruti-rṣabha, Venkatamakhī further "realised that 'ma ga ri sa' would not be melodious, and so he adopted only 'ma ri sa'. But 'sa ri ga ma' could be rendered melodious by the adoption of the gamaka, called tripam or thripam. Likewise, in the case of satśruti-dhaivata, he adopted the application of 'pa dha ni sa' with the tripam (or thripam) and avoided 'sa ni dha pa' in the descent (avarohaṇa). This principle runs through the forty vivādī-melakartās, which are known as the vivādī-svara combinations."

In the recent days, a change has happened and the old system is replaced by the new one. Now, it has been decided by the Vidvāns that a melakartā must be heptatonic (sampūrņa) in form, both in ascent and descent (ārohaṇa and avarohaṇa). Now, following this new method or principle, they have classified the melakartās as ṣāḍava-sampūrṇa, sampūrṇa-saḍava, ouḍava-sampūrṇa, and sampūrṇa-ouḍava. These new and novel forms of the melakartās perhaps were unknown to Pt. Rāmamātya, Govinda Dīkṣit, and Venkatamakhī. This innovation cannot be earlier than the end of the 18th century, as it was unknown to King Tulajā.

It is the opinion of the experts of the South Indian music that under the new scheme of melakartā and rāga, "even in the vivādī-melakartās, ascent and descent (ārohaṇa and avarohaṇa) must be sampūrṇa. From the viewpoint of critical analysis, it can be said that this new conception stresses the notes (svaras)

and ignores the requirements of melody. For example, take the very first melakartā under the new dispensation. The ascent is 'sa ri ga ma pa dha ni sa' which gives rise to the rāga, kanakāngī. Now, Venkatamakhī acting under the old conception of melakartā and emphasising melody adopted only 'sa ri ma pa dha sa' as ascent, and under the revised scheme, it caused to be a melakartā and became a janya."

But Kanakāngī is a scale and Kanakāmbarī is a rāga. In the same manner, we find that under the new scheme and nomenclature many of the melakartās of Venkatamakhī are classed as janya, and thus the new melakartās which are merely

the scales, evolved.

In the Venkatamakhī's Chaturdandī-prakāsikā, we find that the rāgas have been classified into eighteen jātis which simply show the main characteristics of the rāgas, coming under each jāti. It is said that the name Chaturdandī was given for four kinds of gānakriyā, sthāyī, ārohī, avarohī, and sanchārī, which the book adopted. The book, Sangītasūryodaya defined the significance of Venkatamakī's Chaturdandī as,

गानिक्रया वर्णयितः प्रोच्यते स चतुर्विधः। स्थाय्यारोह्यावरोही च सञ्चारीति क्रमादिमाः॥ चतुर्दण्डी च सा प्रोक्ता नारदादि मुनिश्वरैः॥

That is, Venkatamakhī explained also gīta, prabandha, thāya or sthāya and ālāpa—these music-materials in the sixth to ninth chapters of his Chaturdandī. King Tulajā (1729-55 A.D.) used the term Chaturdandī in his Sangītasārāmrta in the sense of gīta, prabandha, thāya and ālāpa. MM. Ramakrishna Kavi said that "recently a manuscript (of Chaturdandī) has been recovered from Mālābār and it defines thirtyfive musical compositions which were in vogue in 1650 A.D."99

^{99.} The references are taken from the Journal of the Music Academy, Madras.

Rules for determining a Raga

The $r\bar{a}gas$ evolve from the melas or melakartās, and these are the important rules for determining the form and concept of a $r\bar{a}ga$:

- 1. A rāga should have a definite scale (mela or thāta),
- 2. A rāga should never omit the note sadja (tonic) which is regarded as a drone, or a basic note,
- 3. A rāga must have at least one of the following notes:

 paāchama (the fifth), madhyama (the fourth) or tivramadhyama (m or M),
- 4. A rāga does not have less than four notes, though there are few rāgas which are possessed of four notes,
- 5. A rāga (specially the North Indian one) has a vādī or amśa in a given tetrachord. Its counterpart in the other tetrachord is called samvādī. Besides, a rāga should be possessed of an anuvādī. The vivādī note is abolished in a rāga, but sometimes for beauty it can be used. As for example, paūchama is abolished (varjīta) in the rāga, mālava-kauśīka (mālkoṣa), but for determining the characteristic of the rāga as well as beauty, paūchama is slightly used in the mālava-kauśīka,
- 6. A rāga should possess a definite set of ascent and descent (ārohaṇa and avarohaṇa) of tones. It is also characterised by some tonal groups or movements, which are known as varṇa, thāya, and idioms etc.

CHAPTER FIVE

FOLK ELEMENT IN INDIAN CLASSICAL MUSIC

The folk music is the most ancient one and it existed from the dawn of civilization of the world. In the primitive period, the savage peoples of all countries of the world used to sing the simple songs which were prevalent in their undeveloped societies. In India, we find the folk type of songs in every country, and men and women use to sing simple songs with the tunes of their own. Thus we find many tunes with their special forms or features, named after the countries and the nations. Such as, the tune bangāl or bāngāli evolved from the Vanga-deśa, andhri from the Andhra-deśa, gandhari from the Gandhara-deśa (i.e. Kandahar), gurjari from Gurjara, saurātrī from Saurātra-deśa, saindhavī or sindhu from Sindhuedesa or Sind, etc. as well as abhiri or ahiri from the Abhiratribe, bhairava from the Bhairava tribe, pulindika from the Pulinda-tribe, etc. These tunes were afterwards introduced in the civilized Aryan society and were formalized with the prescribed rules and principles that are contained in the developed classical highway tunes i.e. ragas. In the similar way, many parada i.e. paradatta or foreign tunes got into the stock of the Indian-Aryan (classical) music. As for example, saka-rāga was the tune of folk song of the Scythians, todi-rāga was the tune of the ancient (folk) music of the Turkeys, harman was the national or folk tune of the Armenians. These foreign tunes travelled to India and were intermixed with the Indian musical elements through the medium of trade-route. Dr. B. N. Datta, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, R. D. Banerjee, R. P. Chanda, and many other scholars admitted this fact of fusion of art and culture.

A RĀGIŅĪ BĀNGĀLĪ

Let us discuss, in short, the rāga-bāngāli and its inclusion into the stock of classical Indian music. Bangāl or bāngālī was

originally a folk and non-Aryan tune, and afterwards it found its place in the highway music of the Gauda-Vanga or Bengal. The Pāhārpur excavation (in Bānglādeśa) gave many evidences of ancient aboriginal tribes. In the walls of the Sarvatobhadra Temple at Pāhārpur (8th Sataka), there are many sculptures of different styles, and one of them represents a Kauma-tribe, who were divided into two, nagna-Savarī and parņa-Savarī, i.e. one Kauma did not wear cloth, and another used cloth of leaves of the trees. Those Savaras were one of the ancient nomadic or aboriginal tribes of India, who lived in Bengal in 8th Sataka. This tribe still exists in Kalingadeśa. Dr. O. C. Gangoly suggested that the Savaras were gradually civilized, and their folk tune was named after them, which was known as śavarī. The historians are of the opinion that Bengal remained outside of the boundary of Aryan civilization in ancient time. In the Rk-Veda, there is no mention of Bengal. In the Satapatha-Brāhmana, we find a line:

अंग-वंग-कर्त्तिगेषु * * मगधेषु च । तीर्थयात्रां विना गच्छन् पुनःसंस्कार महीति ।।

The contention of the Brāhmaņa is that the culture of Vanga or Bengal was against that of the Veda i.e. vaidika-culture, and it was influenced by the non-Aryan culture, and so it was not considered as the sacred one. Sir Herbert Risly was of the opinion that 'the Bengali was an alloy of the Mongolian and Dravidian races', and this opinion held the ground for a long time. But this view of Mr. Risly was criticised by Rai Bāhādur R. P. Chanda, Dr. B. S. Guha, Mr. H. C. Chāklādār, Dr. R. C. Mazumder and others. Mr. Chanda was of the opinion that "when immigrants of the Homo-Alpanes type entered India, they found the middle portion of the Gangetic plain in possession of the Vedic Aryans, and, therefore, found their way to the lower Gangetic plain across the tableland of Central India." However, we find a trace of the pre-Aryan civilization in Bengal. Dr. S. K. Chatterji mentioned about the culture of this civilization in his article, Indo-Aryan and

Hindi (op.cit., 30ff). Dr. R. C. Mazumder discussed about the Aryan immigration to Bengal in his recent book, History of Ancient Bengal.1 He wrote: "The theory, of the non-Aryan origin of the Bengalis is supported by the Vedic literature. It is significant that there is no reference to Bengal in the Samhita of the Rgveda. ** ** The Baudhayana-Dharmasutra (1.1., 2, 13-15) prescribes a penance for those who visit, among other countries, Pundra and Vanga representing North and East Bengal."2 The Mahābhārata referred to the places of pilgrimage in Bengal.

The end of the fourth century B.C. marked a fixed point in the expansion of Aryan culture in Eastern India. "Aryanised Bengal and Bihar formed the strongest political power in the whole of India. That Bengal, like Magadha, had imbibed many elements of Aryan culture can hardly be doubted and may be demonstrated by positive evidence." So it is found that at the end of the fourth century A.D., ome of the portions of the Greater Bengal were Aryanised, but before that Vangadesa (Gauda-Vanga) or Bengal i.e. Greater Bengal was not recognised as a civilized and Aryanised one. In the collection of Ajit Ghose in the Ashutosh Museum in the Calcutta University evidences of many ancient and aboriginal elements of art and culture are found.

In music, we find that the folk tune, bangāl of the most ancient Bengal got into the stock of classical type of music with the name of the rāgiņī bāngāli. Dr. O. C. Gangoly beautifully discussed this matter in his article, Non-Aryan Contribution to Aryan Music and also in the Preface (in Bengali) of Rāga-O-Rūpa by S. Prajñānānanda.3 Now, when the folk tune of ancient Bengal was Aryanised and got into the stock of the highway classical music, the contemplative compositions

^{1.} Vide Vol. I (1971), p. 25.

^{2.} Ibid., p. 25.

^{3.} Vide also S. Prajnananda: Historical Study of Indian Music, (Calcutta).

(dhyāna-ślokas) were composed by the intuitive poets (though it was composed in the 16th-17th century A.D. after its inclusion in long days before), and this dhyana-śloka was,

कक्ष-निवेसित-करन्त-धरायताक्षी, भास्वत्-त्रिश्ल-परिमण्डित बामहस्ता । भस्मोज्ज्वल निविद् बद्ध-जटाकलापा, वंगालीकेति अभिहिता तरूणार्क वर्णा ॥4

Like bhairavī, bangālī or bāngālī is the rāgiņī of the rāga bhaira Matanga and Pārśvadeva said in the Brhaddeśi and the Sangitasamayasāra: 'Bangāladeśa sambhūtā Bangālī'.5 Being a bhāṣārāga, it is known as rāgiņī. The rāgiņī-mangālī is of the similar nature. There is a rāga, mangala or gīta-mangala, which is mentioned in different epics and ancient Sanskrit dramas, but mangala may be different from rāgiņī-mangālī. The ancient tonal form of bāngālī is 'sa ga ma pa ni sa', or 'ma pa dha ni sa ri ga'-sauvīra-mūrcchanā. The present tonal form is 'sa ri (flat) ga ma pa dha (flat), sa-sa dha (flat) pa ma ga ri (flat), sa'.

In the dhyana-mantra, the ragini holds a tridant (trisuta) in her hand like bhairavī-rāgiņī. In the painting of bāngālī, a tiger is seated before her. The tigers are available in the dense forests of Bengal. In a Hindi dhyāna-śloka, it is mentioned: 'matha sivatale simha ju vathāhī'.6 Here lion is no other than the tiger. The ragini is absorbed in the contemplation of Siva: 'sivako dhyāna vahai'.7 It is found that as the aboriginal tribes were the worshippers of Lord Siva, so their tunes were known as 'sivā-priyā'. Most of the text parts or sāhityas of the ancient songs were also composed of the Sivastutis. Now, in the process of development of the forms of the rāginī, we find four evolutional stages: (1) In the first nascent stage, it is a folk tune of Bengal; (2) In the second stage, it is known bangālikā; (3) In the third stage, it was Aryanised and rectified,

^{4.} Vide, the Bhāvaprakāśan, Baroda Ed. (1930), p. 312.

^{5.} बंगालदेशसम्भूता बंगाली।

^{6.} मठ शिवतले सिंह जू वैठाहि।

^{7.} शिवको ध्यान वहई।

and its dhyāna was conceived like the classical rāga or rāginī; (4) In the fourth stage, the rāginī was very famous in the North-Western side of India and many Hindi dhyāna-śloka was composed. Then the rāginī was very popular. It is sung in the morning time, when the atmosphere of the Nature remains calm and serene. Nearly all the bhāṣā-rāgas or rāginīs of the rāga-bhairava and bhairava itself are sung in early in the morning when darkness of night is removed by the vermillion rays of the sun.

B ĀDI-RĀGA BHAIRAVA

The rāga-bhairava is also a folk tune of the aboriginal and mountainous tribe Bhairava (commonly known as Bhairavā). Pandit Sāradātanaya wrote in the Bhāvaprakāšan:

पुरे जनपढेऽरण्ये वसन्त स्वरचारिणः। मांसाशिनो मधुरता-मतमांसवलिक्रियाः॥ विदुरलोकयात्राश्च रूरुशादु नमेखलाः। आविस्पष्टपदालापा भैरवा ईत्युदीरिताः।

Besides, there were Śakārā, Ābhirā, Pulinda, Śavarā, and Hālikā.⁸ All these aboriginal tribes were very fond of music, and though their music were very crude, simple, and monotonous, yet they were possessed of tune of their own. Paṇḍit Dāmodara (17th century A.D.) mentioned in the Saṅgitadarpaṇa: "bhairavaḥ ādi-rāgaḥ" i.e. bhairava is the first and foremost rāga among all rāgas. But in the pre-Darpaṇa literature, bhairava is neither mentioned as first one among the rāgas, nor as a prime rāga, and it is interesting to note that the first appearance of bhairava happened in the 11th-13th century A.D. It was Pārśvadeva, the Jain musicologist, who mentioned the rāga-bhairava together with the rāgiṇī-bhairavī for the first time in his work, Saṅgīta-samayasāra: "yathā bhairavajātya bhairavya aṅśakaḥ punaḥ." Pārśvadeva gave detail description of both

^{8.} Ibid, pp. 311-312.

bhairava and bhairavi, with their definite characteristics, forms, and distinctive features. We get a reference of the word 'bhairava' in Matanga's Brhaddeśi (later than 9th century A.D.): 'bhairavah kāmadaschaiva....' But this word signifies a tāna of the madhyama-grāma, and not a rāga: "(iti)madhyama-grāma... auduvita-tāna-nāmāni." Did Matanga mean tāna as rāga? No, that is not possible, as there is a great difference between a tāna and a rāga. So it is evident that bhairava was absolutely absent in the pre-Samayasāra literature of music.

It is a historical fact that many of the rāgas or melodytypes of Indian music, both Northern and Southern, are the products of mixture of the Aryan and non-Aryan elements. It has already been said that in the Brhaddesī, we find the names of many aboriginal nomadic tribes who had music with two or three notes which were known as the gāthika, and sāmika types of gāna, and Matanga said that their music were not mārga (mārgitatvāt mārgah) or chased classical ones. Those socalled non-Aryan tribes were the Sabara, Pulinda, Kāmboja, Vanga, Vahlika, Kirāta, etc. But Matanga was not wholly correct. The Vedic music was possessed of five notes with downward movement (avarohana-gati), and this kind of ancient pentatonic form of music is found in the systems of music of Greece, Rome, Mesopotamia, Chaldia, Assyria, China, Japan and other nations.

It is a fact that the folk music of the non-Aryan tribes enriched the stock of the Aryan music with their tunes, tones, and modes. We often find the reference of a aboriginal tribe Bhairava who lived in the dense forests of the lower valleys of the Himālaya mountains, and it has been said before that Paṇḍit Sāradātanaya mentioned it in the Bhāvaprakāśan. It is said that the Bhairavas were very fond of music like the Gandharvas of the north-western province, known as Gāndhāra (modern Kāndāhār near Kābul). It is said that the Bhiravas used to come down the lower valleys of the mountains and came in contact with the people who lived in the planes. Bharata said in the Nātyaśāstra (2nd century A.D.) that the

Gandharvas were very fond of music, gāndharva which was composed of svara, tāla and pada: "svara-tāla-padātmakam." The gāndharva type of music evolved with the materials of the Vedic music and so it was known as the chased one or mārga. Some are of the opinion that gāndharva type of music was named after the tribe Gandharva. Similarly it is believed that bhairava and bhairavī (rāga and rāginī) were the principal tunes of the nomadic Bhirava tribe, and the Aryans borrowed them and incorporated them in their sophisticated high way music perhaps in or about the 9th-11th century A.D. They also maintain that in the later period, mythico-philosophical interpretation was given to those rāgas, and then it was believed that those rāgas (rāgas and rāginīs) evolved from the mouth of Siva, and afterwards bhairavī was conceived as the divine consort of bhairava.

We have already said that many of the ragas were named after the tribes, countries, and provinces of India, and the authors of the Brhaddesī, Sangīta-Makaranda, Sangīta-Ratnākara mentioned about the rāgas, pulindikā, thakka or takka, takkakauśīka, āndhālī, āndhrī, saurāştrī, sauvirī or sauvirikā, gurjarī, abhirī or āhirī, dāk siņātyā, paurālī, botta or bhotla, botta-kaušīka, potta, turuşka-todi or todikā or tudikā, turuşka-gauda etc. The rāga botta or bhotta, we know, was incorporated from the Bhotadeśa (Bhutān etc.) of the Himalayan regions. Similarly there is an amazing history about the origin of todi or todika and turuska-todi. There was a time when many of the regional tunes were rectified and incorporated in the stock of the classical music by the broad-minded musicians and musicologists of India. The civilized Aryan community did not neglect to include many of the tunes of different tribes and provinces, so as to enrich the domain of Indian music.

It is believed by some scholars that in the Buddhist Matsyajātaka (2nd-3rd century A.D.) there occurs the name of a meghagīti. It is mentioned in that Jātaka that one day Bhagavān Buddha reached the Jetavana-Bihāra and desired to take bath in the tank. Buddha's disciples were with him, Buddha's foremost disciple, Ananda found that a tank was nearly empty. So he invoked Maghavan Indra to pour sufficient showers from the clouds. He prayed with a peculiar tune to Indra and his sincere prayer was granted by Indra. Maghavan Indra came down with his attendants with delight and poured heavy showers by singing the meghagiti, and the tank (sarovara) of the Jetavana was full to the brim. Tathagata Buddha was very pleased to take bath in the tank and afterwards entered the Jetavana-Bihāra. Some scholars conclude that the meghagiti or meghagana, sung by Maghavan and his attendants, is no other than the meghagīti or megharāga. But their conjecture is not correct, as the megharaga was not created by Indra, or by the clouds, though the raga, megha invoke and attract the clouds and the rainy atmosphere. Further it should be remembered that the compilation of the Jatakas were in the 2nd-3rd century A.D. Bharata compiled the Nātyaśāstra in the 2nd century A.D. So it can easily be conceived that the rāgas, which were prevalent in the beginning of the Christian era, were mentioned in Bharata's Nātyasāstra. We know that in the pre-Christian times, the jātirāga-gānas were in practice, and Vālmikī mentioned eight kinds of jātirāga-gāna in the 4th canto of the Rāmāyaņa (400 B.C.). Vālmikī said that Lava and Kuśa were the wandering Bards, and they used to present the verses of the Rāmāyaṇa in tune before the Royal court of Rāmachandra, with classical melodies of the jātirāgas. The jātis were the causal or source-rāgas, from which all the rāgas were evolved in the later period. Bharata said : "jātisambhūtatvāt grāmarāgānī." Therefore, it is a fact that if the meghagīti with megharāga were in practice in the 2nd-3rd century A.D., then Bharata would have described, or would have mentioned it in the Nātyaśāstra. But we do not find any trace of the gīti or rāga like megha in NS. So all the writers on music are of the opinion that megharāga evolved in the latter period, even after the existence of mallāra or mallārikā (malhāra=malahāra) which means the destroyer or purifier of the malas or dusts of the air. Further it is said that if the megharaga was in

practice in or before the 2nd-3rd century A.D., then its antiquity might have been recognised by Bharata. In fact, *bhairava* is claimed historically as an import of the 9th-11th century A.D., and the *megha* evolved after *mallāra*.

The majority of the scholars are of the opinion that rāgas, megha and mallara are different and the Sangita-darpana and most of the post-Darpana literature on music and specially the Senī ghārāṇā, established by Miān Tānsen and his descendants, admit it. Pandit Somanath (17th century A.D.) mentioned in his Rāgavibodha that mallāra (malhāra) and mallārikā are different ragas of different times. It is interesting to note that the ancient authors on music unanimously admitted that the mallara or malhara is earlier than megha, whereas the later authors of the 16th-17th century described mallara as the consort (rāgiņī) or a subordinate rāga of megha. This controversial matter can be put in this way that though the human society is ever-changing, yet their history of evolution cannot be ignored. History may repeat itself with its past and present records and annals, but its past happenings remain the same and unchanged as records. So, though the later writers on music described mallāra as a subordinate rāga of megha, yet history does not say so.

Now, leaving aside the controversial discussions on megha and mallāra, we can say that although bhairava as a folk or tribal tune existed in the non-Aryan stock of the tribe Bhirava, who lived in the forest of the lower valley of the Himālayans, yet it did not appear in the civilized Aryan community before the 9th-11th century A.D. Now, most of the authors consider bhairava as the topmost and important rāga not for its priority of origin, but for its superior æsthetic quality and merit of excellence. In the present society, bhairava breathes the air of a great solemnity, divine grandeur and surpassing æsthetic quality and beauty. Three predominant emotional sentiments (rasas) like śrūgāra or śānta, bhayānaka and karuṇa are inherent in the tones and tunes of bhairava, and they are the best and divine in their manifestations. Though there are many bhāvas,

anubhāva, vibhāva and vyabhichārī-bhāva, yet their predominant bhāvas bring celestial peace and happiness to the artists.

Now, before discussing about the predominant and inherent sentiments in the raga bhairava, let us discuss about what do we mean by the word, rāga. A rāga is constructed out of the ascending-descending orders of notes or tones, having ten distinctive characteristics or essentials like graha, amśa, nyāsa, alpatva, bahutva, etc. Some scholars do not admit existence of of any rāga in Bharata's Nātyaśāstra, though Bharata mentioned and defined the jātirāga or jāti with the help of ten essentials (dasa-lakṣaṇa) in the Nātyasāstra. A rāga is like a colour that tinges everything and creates a calm and soothing sentiment and mood (bhava) in the minds of all beings. So the artists of Indian music regard a raga not as a structure of notes or sounds, but as a living emotional aspect, having in it ethical and spiritual values. They say that tones and tunes are the bare outlines or skeletons of a raga, so they require flesh and blood for its complete and healthy manifestation. It requires life-force and vigour, and so the artists admit that the emotional sentiment and spiritual fervour are the real form of a $r\bar{a}ga$, and for manifesting as well as for representing a rāga, those sentiment and fervour must be revived. Tones and tunes are only the medium of the manifestation of the $r\bar{a}gas$. So the authors on music describe the rāgas as living and divine, nay, as the living embodiments of the Divinity. They saw the materialized forms of the ragas in their ecstatic visions. They composed the contemplative compositions or dhyānas according to the temper of their tonal They determined their respective essentials (lak sanas), qualities (gunas), emotional sentiments (rasas) and moods (bhāvas). They say that a rāga can be visualised by the representation of correct construction. A true artist gets a divine vision of rāga by objectifying his subjective ideas, coloured by the emotions or sentiments in a sensuous form and, therefore, he projects outwardly his inner spirit through

the medium of tones and tunes, so as to enjoy its unearthly divine beauty and greatness.

Both the musicians and the musicologists know that the authors of music classified the $r\bar{a}gas$ into three main classes, masculine, feminine, and neuter, according to their graver, softer and, intermediate temperaments as well as to their predominant emotional sentiments and characters. They lay stress upon their psychological aspects too. They determine their superior and inferior grades from the standpoint of esthetic or emotional values. Like other $r\bar{a}gas$, the $r\bar{a}gabhairava$ is saturated with esthetic beauty and lustre, so it creates and also generates different emotional moods (bhāvas) that stir and attract the minds of everyone.

Now let us consider about the priority and greatness (mahimā) of the rāga bhairava, as have been described by Pandit Dāmodara in the Sangīta-Darpana: "bhairavah ādi-rāgah". We know from the music literature of not later than the period from 9th to 11th century that bhairava possesses mainly three emotional sentiments or rasas, though all the ragas are possessed of eight or nine or ten rasas. Muni Bharata (2nd A.D.) described eight rasas, and they are: śrngāra, hāsya, karuna, veera, bhayanaka, vibhatsa, and adbhūta. In fact, Bharata admitted only four basic rasas like śrngāra, raudra, veera, and vibhatsa, and from them successively evolved the four rasas like hāsya, karuṇa, adbhūta, and bhayānaka, according to genusspecies or cause-effect theory (vide the Nātyaśāstra, VI. 15, 39-41). There are some constant moods (sthāyī-bhāvas) and also subordinate bhāvas, in each of the rasas. Besides Bharata, Abhinavagupta, Bhojarāja, Dhanañjaya, Dhanika, Viśvanāth Chakravarty, Sāradātanaya, Bhattalollāta, Sankuka, Bhattanāyaka, Paṇḍitrāja Jaggannāth and others divided the rasas into many aspects, according to their distinctive features and manifestations. Bharata preferred śrngara better than śanta, so he defined rasa, śrngāra as the prime one (ādi-rasa). He śrngara rama rati-sthayibhava-prabhavah has said: "tatra ujjvalaveśātmakaḥ". Samvit or chetanā and anubhava i.e. experience

and knowledge are the vital power (prāṇa) of the rasa śrngāra. Śrngāra generates kāma or desire (to create), which is divine and not sexual. In the Upanisad, we find that before projection of the world-process the (determinate) Brāhmaņ, Iśvara said: "eko'ham vahusyām" i.e. 'I am one and secondless, now for creation i.e. projection of the manifold universe, I shall be many'. The Bhāgavata said that this desire (kāma) to create or project (the world-appearance) originates from the heart or mind of the Brahmā (as Brahmā is known as the Cosmic Mind): "kāmastu brāhmaņo hīdayājjātah" or "hīdi kāmo bhruvoh krodho-labhachadharadacchadāt". alaukika and divyasvarūpa, and it is the medium for projection This śrngāra is of all the sentient and insentient beings and matters. In the Bhaktirasāmīta-sindhu and Ujjvalanilamani, Svarūpa Gosvāmī said that the bhaktirasa or divine love originated from śrngāra. Madhusudana Sarasvatī also admitted it. This prime rasa singāra is possessed of sattva-guņa, which is shining and pure, and it helps all to cut asunder the knots of cycles of birth and rebirth. While defining and describing about the ādi-rasa śrngāra, Dr. V. Rāghavan mentioned in his monumental book, Bhoja's Śrngāra-Prakāśa: "It is called śrngāra not only as one that takes man to the ecme of perfection but also because it is Love, it is the very life of ātmayoni or kāma, Kāma is not meant here as sexual love, even as śrngāra is not used by Bhoja here in the sense of love between man and woman and even as Bhoja's ahamkāra here is not egotism": "ātmasthitam guņa-visesamahamkrtam strigāramahuriha jivitāmatmayoni" etc.9 Strigara is divided into dharma-strigara, artha-strigara, kāma-śrngāra and mokṣa-śrngāra according to dharma, artha, kāma and moksa, which are known as chaturvarga. Dr. Rāghavan wrote: "This kāma, ahamkāra, abhimāna or śrngāra of the pūrva-koti then passes into manifold bhāvas in the madhyamāvasthā. The first major manifestation of the ahamkāra is into the four kinds of man's attachment to and pursuit after four aims

^{9.} Vide, the second revised edition, 1963, p. 452.

or springs of all human action, the puruṣārthas, dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa. Dhārarāj Bhoja already said that this ahamkāra or abhimāna lies at the basis of chaturvarga—chaturvargāika-karaṇaṃ. Bhoja, therefore, classified śṛṅgāra into dharma-ṣṛṅgāra, artha-ṣṛṅgāra, kāma-ṣṛṅgāra, and mokṣa-ṣṛṅgāra; meaning the respective activities of man towards the achievement of the four puruṣārthas".¹¹º Similarly Bharata defined that lāma or desire originated from śṛṅgāra at an absolute divine love.

Abhinavagupta expounded the rasa-theory from the dvani or vyanjana viewpoint. Shri G. N. Bhatta wrote in the introduction of the Natyasastra: "Abhinavagupta's new system of æsthetic enjoyment is fully based on Bharata's Rasasūtra and Bharata's explanation of the process of enjoyment of rasa as contained in the Natyasastra. He has established that vibhava, anubhava and vyabhicharī-bhava or permanent receptive moods of different rasas situated within the careful and attentive spectators develop into different rasas so that they may be enjoyed by the spectators.It is, therefore, proved by Abhinavagupta that vyanjanā-vṛtti plays a greater role in the process of rasānubhāva through poems, dramatic performances and tasteful food".11 Now it should be noticed that Abhinavagupta mainly dealt the rasa-theory for kāvya, nātaka, and sāhitya, and while commenting upon Bharata's Nātyaśāstra, he elaborately explained the rasa-theory for music and dance and also for dramatic performance.

Dhanañjaya, Viśvanāth Chakravarty, and Sarādātanaya respectively discussed the śrṅgāra-rasa and also with the problems of other rasas in the Dasarūpaka, Sāhityadarpaṇa and Bhāvaprakāśan, but their interpretations of the śrṇgāra-rasa are somewhat different. Now the śrṇgārarasa-niṣpatti i.e. accomplishment of the prime-rasa śrṇgāra and also that the karuṇa, bhayānaka, and other rasas that are contained in the rāga,

^{10.} Vide, the Śrngāra-Prakāśa, 1963, p. 455.

^{11.} Vide, Baroda Ed., Vol. II.

bhairava must be different from others. The Vaisnava philosopher also considered strigara as the best possible means to enjoy the celestial love (paramaprema) of Śri Kṛṣṇa and Śrī Rādhā as well as their divine communion. Kavi Jayadeva of the Kendubilva (in West Bengal) has written the Gitagovindapadagāna being inspired with the prime-sentiment, śrngāra. His Sanskrit-Bengali musical pieces are devoted to the divine description of the sportive play of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and that sportive play (līlā) is known as ādi-rasātmaka. There śrngāra and kāma have been transformed into paramaprema or celestial Love. Kavi Jayadeva described Śrī Kṛṣṇa as an embodiment of śringāra: "śringāra sakhi mūrtimāniva madhaumugdhonaharih krdati". The stone figures of Natas and Natis (male and female dancers) on the walls and facades of the temple and Nātmandir of the Lord Jagannāth at Purī and Konārk temple of the Sungod also represent the expression of śrngāra-rasa. Though the figures look as ordinarily obscene, yet they appear to the creative vision of the artists and seers of truth and beauty as the divine representation of the

The karuna-rasa which is contained in the raga, bhairava, is also divine. It brings in close contact with the all-love Isvara without making separation from Him. The karuna-rasa of bhairava brings nirveda or vairāgya instead of involving men in sorrow and pain. It is to be noted that there are different degrees of manifestation of each emotional sentiment. Besides, śrngāra or śānta and karuna-rasas of bhairava are equal in intensity and expression to those of the āśāvarī and jayajayantī rāgas. As for example, though the karuna-rasa of bhairava is soft and bent in nature, yet it is grave and majestic with serenity and devotional joy, whereas that of āśāvarī expresses sorrow and melancholy for the departed ones. So every emotional sentiment has a different and distinctive feature of manifestation in different rāgas. The bhayānaka-rasa that lies in the bhairava-rāga is also majestic and serene without bringing any awful and fierceful mood or aspect.

It has been said that sringara-rasa is recognized as the best and hightest emotional aspect from the artistic as well as from the æsthetic standpoint. Otherwise true lovers and sādhakas of music regard śānta-rasa as the best medium of concentration and meditation upon the contemplative forms of the ragas. They say that mind in essence is a divine and shining element, and when its modifications (vrttis) are controlled and calmed, it turns into its real state of pure consciousness (chaitanya), but with its phenomenal contingent form, it enchants or deludes all and binds all in the net of divergent desires. So seekers after Truth and Divine Love try to go beyond its phenomenal reach or attraction, and concentrate its manifold modifications and meditate upon the divine goal. The santa-rasa generates calmness of the mind and it calms down the unruly waves of , the mental sea and brings permanent peace and balance of mind and tranquility, and so some later Sāstrakāras recognize inta-rasa as the prime and sublime sentiment.

Now, what is śānta-rasa? Abhinavagupta said in the Abhinavabhāratī, the commentary on the Nātyaśāstra: "atha śanto nama sama-sthāyībhāvātmako mokṣa-pravartakaḥ. Sa tu tattvajñāna-vairāgyasaya-śuddhyādibhirvibhavaih samutpadyate" etc. In fact, he said that śānta-rasa is prescribed as a means to highest happiness It arises from a desire to secure moksa or liberation of the self and tends to knowledge of Truth. The śānta-rasa is a state wherein one feels oneness towards all creatures, wherein there is no pain, no unhappiness, no hatred, and no envy. Santa is one's natural state of the mind or In the Kāvyālamkāra, Rudratā also admitted: "samyagjnana-prakṛti śanto" etc. i.e. śanta-rasa has for its cause (sthāyībhāva) right knowledge, which dispells ignorance and bondage. In the Dhvanyāloka, Ānandavardhana also said similar way. Lochana also admitted the view of Ānandavardhana. Like sānta-rasa, srngāra-rasa also originates from the same sthāyībhāva that brings right knowledge and eternal peace of mind. But Bharata did not recognise santarasa as a sentiment. He said that the first and foremost

rasa, śringāra brings, in a correct way, the perfect balance of the mind, and enables men and women to control their mind and meditate upon the causal sound, the Sabda-Brahman. The Sabda-Brahman is called by Pāṇinī, Patañjalī and Bhatrharī as Sphota. The Bible calls it the Word. It is known in Tantra as Kāmakalā or Kundalinī, which sleeps in the bed of the mūlādhāra (basic lotus) in the form of the coiling serpent. It is called by the Naiyāyikas and Vaiśeṣikas as the Will of God, and by Sānkhya and Vedānta as the Prakṛti or Cosmic Will. Regarding the sentiments, karuna and bhayānaka, which form the categories of rāga bhairava, we have already explained that karuna-rasa generally signifies a pitiful and sympathetic attitude that brings melancholy, grief, sorrow, despair, and disappointment etc. But karuna-rasa of bhairava never expresses or generates such gay moods or attitudes, rather it brings the sympathetic and blissful attitude and is helpful to śrngāra or śānta. In fact, karuna-rasa of bhairava brings balance of mind, creates harmony between the internal temperament of mind and the external atmosphere of the Nature. Similarly, it has already been said that bhayānaka-rasa generally expresses the attitude of terror and fear, but bhayanaka-rasa that forms the category of the rāga bhairava, never brings terror and fear in one's mind, rather it creates an attitude of awe and reverence as well as divine submission (prapatti) in the mind and thus helps men to attend the state of nirveda (vairāgya) or detachment to the ephimeral materials of the deceitful world.

So, although bhairava is known as a rāga of the later origin according to the historians, yet it excells all the rāgas in its merit and surpassing æsthetic quality. Bhairava is divided into many forms (rūpas) like śivamata-bhairava, ānanda-bhairava, āhir-bhairava, etc. with the mixture of other rāgas, but the bhairava, which is constituted out of the tones, Sa Re (flat), Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha (flat), Ni having its movement with Sa, Ma, Pa, Dha (flat), Ni, Sa—Re (flat, high), Ni, Dha (flat), Pa, Ma, Pa, Ma, Re (flat), Sa, is the pure and basic one. The movement of the tone, Sa to Ma of the śuddha-bhairava, creates śrūgāra,

or santa-rasa with calmness and balance of mind, the movements of Ga, Ma, Re (flat), Sa and also the curving Dha (flat) create karuna-rasa with humility and detachment of mind, and the curving and clustering tones in arohana and avarohana of the śuddha-bhairava create bhayānaka-rasa when they are produced rapidly in grave tāna or gitkiri forms. The bhairava is known s the sandhi-prakāša-rāga, because this melody-type is presented or produced in the confluent period of the night and the day. It is produced just after the ragini, lalita which breaks the sleeps of all living beings, and it removes the darkness of nescience and bestow light of knowledge. The raga bhairava manifests itself before the sunrise and thus prepares the ground for rising of the brilliant vermillion sun. At this time the whole atmosphere of the Nature remains in complete balance and peace, and brings balance also in the breathing current of air in the nostrils. The bhairava helps to the process of pranayama breathing exercise, and calms down all modifications (vittis) and all diversions of the mind. The sadhakas of music have discovered a harmony between tune and form of the raga bhairava in the calm and serene atmosphere of the morning, and they believe that srngara or santa-rasa predominates in the confluent of the night and the day i.e. in the morning. The raga bhairava is, therefore, the bestower of permanent peace and eternal happiness, and for this reason it has been recognised as the prime rāga (ādi-rāga) in the list or chart of the rāgas. It is the foremost and prime rāga from the standpoint of its thetic and spiritual contents and appeal.

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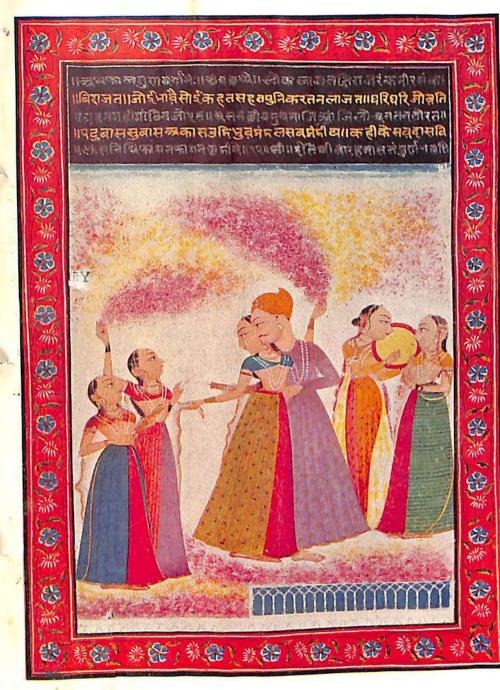
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DEVELOPMENT OF RĀGA VASANTA

Vasanta is an ancient seasonal raga. It evolved between the time of Matanga (fifth-seventh century A.D.) and Parśvadeva (seventh or ninth-eleventh century A.D.). Matanga discussed about the rāgas, hindola, mālavakauśīka, (not mallakauśīka), kakubha, saindhavī, etc. in his Brhaddeśī, but why he remained silent about the raga vasanta, it is not known. Matanga mainly followed his predecessors, Kaśyapa, Kohala, stika, Tumburu and others (third-fifth century A.D.), and as they did not discuss the raga vasanta, so Matanga also remained silent. Pārśvadeva described vasanta, along with the ragas, bhairava, bhairavī, hindola, madhyamādi, chāyānata, mallāra, etc. Perhaps the rāgas, bhairava and bhairavī evolved in or sometime before the ninth-eleventh century A.D. and they have been discussed before Pārśvadeva classified vasanta in the rāgānga group and considered it as subordinate (anga) rāga of the mārga-hindola. From this we come to know that vasanta evolved from the marga-hindola: 'mārga-hindola-rāgāngam', etc. Pārśvadeva said that vasanta is a pentatonic (audava) rāga, as the notes rṣabha and dhaivata are absent from it. Its sonant, initial and final notes are tonic (sadja). It makes itself manifest in the space extended from the madhyama (note) of the high octave to sadja of the The first and fifth notes generally vibrare (kampita). Its dominant æsthetic sentiment is of the nature of primal creative urge or śrngara ('śrngare viniyujyate'), and it brings detachment from all desires ('nirveda')

Nārada of the Sangīta-makaranda (fifteenth-sixteenth century) included vasanta in the list of the masculine rāgas ('puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ'). He said that it is also known as 'suddha-vasanta' or pure type of vasanta ('vasantam suddha-sanjīnasca'). Mammatā-chārya considered vasanta as the root or proper rāga (janaka-



RAGA VASANTA Contury A. D.)



rāga), and bhairava, revagupta, tanka, etc. evolved from it. Someśvara admitted this view. But in the early thirteenth century A.D. Śārangadeva described vasanta in a different way. He said that vasanta evolved from hindola, which had its origin even before the time of Matanga (fifth-seventh century). Śārangadeva designated vasanta as deśi-hindola, as both the rāgas, hindola and vasanta are sung on the occasion of the sacred spring or holi festival (vasantotsava). The difference between vasanta and hindola lies in the fact that vasanta is heptatonic, whereas hindola is pentatonic in form, devoid of the notes, rsabha and dhaivata.

Paṇḍit Rāmāmatya (1550 A.D.) called vasanta as śuddhavasanta in the Savaramelakalānidhi. He differed from Śārangadeva regarding the form of the raga vasanta, as vasanta is hexa-heptatonic (sādava-sampūrņa) in form, the fifth note, panchama being absent in the ascent. In the Rāgasāgara, ascribed to Nārada-Dattila, vasanta is described as a male (purușa) rāga. It is sober and at the same time majestic in its nature. In the Rāgārņava, as quoted in the Śārāngadara-paddhati, vasanta is described as the fourth subordinate (bhāṣā) rāga to bhairava. Pundarika-Vitthala supported the view of Parsvadeva and said in the Rāgamālā that vasanta is known as one of the sons (subordinate rāga) of hindola, being evolved from it. Pandit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) maintained a different view, because he took vasanta as a parent rāga (janaka-rāga), and hindola to have evolved from it. But, from the historical viewpoint, Somanāth's estimation seems untenable, as the origin of hindola is prior to vasanta, which is proved by Matanga's Brhaddest. Paṇḍit Dāmodara describeed vasanta as heptatonic, having sonant (vādī), initial (graha) and final (nyāsa) notes as tonic (sadja). There are differences of opinion regarding the structure of vasanta. Its tonal form, as current in the present Hindusthānī and Carnātic systems of music, appears different in many respects from the ancient one. Besides, the traditional form of suddha-vasanta, as used in the present system of music, is also different in different schools of music. As for example, in almost all the dhruvapadas and padāvalī-kirtanas of Bengal, vasanta i.e. śuddha-vasanta is used with its pentahexatonic (audava-ṣāḍava) form, as sharp (śuddha) dhaivata, and sharp and displaced madhyama, and pañchama are dropped (varjita). From this it is understood that vasanta, as used in the present Hindusthānī system of music, with its displaced (komala) dhaivata and pañchama, can be called as paraja-vasanta.

In the South Indian system of music, we generally find three types of vasanta, and they are: vasanta, suddha-vasanta and rāga-vasanta, which differ from one another in their tonal forms. Besides them, there are other variants of vasanta, which originate from the mixture of different rāgas. They are: kala-vasanta, kalyāna-vasanta, gopī or gopikā-vasanta, bhoga-vasanta, vasanta-bhairavī, vasanta-mukhārī, vāsanta-vadāri, vīra-vasanta, vāhāra-vasanta or vasanta-vāhāra, hindola-vasanta, etc. It is interesting to note that all these variants imbibe the spirit and atmosphere of the rāga vasanta.

We get a heptatonic (sampūrņa) form of vasanta with sharp (śuddha) dhaivata, and pañchama, which, it is said, came down from the Kheyāliā and Veenkāra lines of Miān Tānsen. Again we get an old type of vasanta, possessed of penta-heptatonic (audava-sampūrņa) form. Its tonal arrangements are: ma dha ni, sa ni dha ma ga, ma dha ni sa, ni dha, pa ma ga re, sa'. In the Seni school of music, we find a form of vasanta with pañchama: 'sa ga ma-dha ni-dha-sa, -ni-re ni-dha-pa ma ga, ma-ga-ri-sa, sa-ma ma-ga, ma-dha-ni-sa', etc. Besides, we come across another type of vasanta, devoid of panchama, and all other notes are sharp or śuddha. Its tonal structure consists of the notes, in both ascent and descent: 'sa ga ma dha ni—sa ni dha ma ga ri/ sa'. Sangīta-Nāyaka Gopeśvara Banerjee said that Miān Tānsen and his followers composed this type of raga, but we do not know whether it is historically true or not. This type of vasanta is composed of sharp śuddha-madhyama and displaced (komala) niṣāda, but the note panchama is dropped. The tonal arrangement of this type is: 'sa ga ma dha ni—sa ni dha ma ga, ma ga ri/ sa'.

Pandit Sudarśanāchārya said in the Sangīta-sudaršana that the displaced rsabha, sharp gandhara, dhaivata and nisada, and both the sharp and displaced madhyamas are the special features of the raga vasanta. In the ascent (arohane), rsabha and panchama are generally dropped, and in the descent (avarohane), rşabha is used in lesser number. Therefore the tonal arrangement of vasanta is: 'ni sa ga dha ma-ma-ma, ga ga ri/ sa ni dha pa-ma dha-ni sa/ma-ma ga, ma-ma-ga sa sa-ni sa ri-sa ni-dha sa, ma-ga-ri sa/ sa ma dha ni dha pa ma dha-ma ga-ri sa/ sa ga ma dha sa dha-ni sa ga-ri sa, sa ni dha pa ma dha ma ga ri sa', etc. Sudarśanāchārya said that this type of vasanta is adopted by the Dhrupadists, whereas the Kheyālists use a different type. Rādhāmohan Sen described it in the Sangita-taranga in a different way. He said that vasanta with a displaced dhaivata and rsabha, together with panchama, is known as paraja-vasanta. This view of Rādhāmohan Sen is accepted especially in the Bengal School of Music. Again there are differences of opinion, regarding the male-female principle of the raga vasanta. Some hold that vasanta is a rāga, and not rāgiņī, while vāsantī or vāsantikā is recognized as rāginī. Sārangadeva included vasanta in the category of rāgānga. Perhaps, in the end of the nineteenth, or in the beginning of the twentieth century, we get various types of vasanta, evolved out of the basic scales, vilābala, pūrvī, āśāvarī, mārowā and bhairavī, which are equivalent to the South Indian basic scales, śankarābharana, māyāmalavagaula, kāmavardhanī, nata-bhairavī, gamakakriyā and hanumāna-todi. From the basic scale pūrvī, two types of vasanta evolved. In the above mentioned seven types of vasanta, we notice that the notes, rṣabha, gāndhārva, madhyama, dhaivata and niṣāda have been used as both sharp and chromatic, i.e. suddha and komala (sharp and flat). Besides them, we find different settings of note in vasanta in the South Indian system, and they are,

(Italics indicate flat notes)

(1) Rāga-vasanta—sa re ma pa ni dha sa—sa ni dha ma pa ma, ma ga re sa.

- (2) Vasanta—sa ga ma dha ni sa—sa ni dha ma ga ri sa.
- (3) Suddha-vasanta—sa ri ga ma pa ni sa—sa dha ni pa ni ga ri sa.

Besides these three types, there are different types of vasanta, which are known as: kanaka-vasanta, kala-vasanta, kalyāṇa-vasanta, gopikā-vasanta, bhoga-vasanta, vasanta-bhairavī, vasanta-mukhārī, vasanta-varālī, vīra-vasanta, hindola-vasanta, gambhīra-vasanta, vasanta-velābalī, vasanta-bhairava, tīvra-vasanta, vasanta-chandrikā, lalita-vasanta, vasanta-fañchama, māyūra-vasanta, sādava-vasanta, vasanta-kumārī or kumārī-vasanta, komala-vasanta, māru-vasanta, etc. The tonal structures of some of them are:

- (1) Kanaka-vasata—sa ga ma pa ni dha sa—sa ni dha pa ma ga ri sa (=hexa-heptatonic or sādava-sampūrna.

 Rsabha is sharp (suddha), and rsabha is left in the descent (avarohane).
- (2) Kala-vasanta—sa ga ma pa dha ni (dha) sa—sa ni (dha) pa ma ga sa (niṣāda is used as sharp, and it is composed of four microtones, and is known as tīvra-dhaivata).
- (3) Kalyāna-vasanta—sa ga ma dha ni sa—sa ni dha pa ma ga ri sa (penta-hexatonic).
- (4) Gopikā-vasanta—sa ma pa ni dha ni dha sa—sa ni dha pa ma ga sa (penta-hexatonic).
- (5) Bhoga-vasanta—sa ri ga ma dha ni sa—sa ni dha ma ga
 ri sa (hexa-hexatonic).
- (6) Vasanta-bhairava—sa ri ga ma dha ni sa—sa ni dha ma
 pa ma ga ri sa (hexa-heptatonic).
- (7) Vasanta-mukhārī—sa ma ga ma pa dha ni sa—sa ni dha
 pa ma ga ri sa (hexa-heptatonic).

 (8) Vasanta marka sa ri sa (hexa-heptatonic).
- (8) Vasanta-varālī—sa ri ma pa dha ni—ni dha pa ga ri sa

 (9) Vīra-vasanta
- (9) Vira-vasanta—sa ga ri ma pa sa—sa ni (dha=) ni pa
 ma ga ri sa (penta-hexatonic).
- (10) Hindola-vasanta—sa ga ma pa dha ni dha sa—sa ni dha pa ma ga dha ma ga sa (rṣabha is left; hexahexatonic).

Besides, we find the following new variants of vasanta:

I. Gambhīra-vasanta—ri, ma, ma, dha, dha.

II. Tivra-vasanta-ri, ga, ma, dha, ni.

III. Vasanta-velābalī—with all the sharp (śuddha) notes.

It has already been said that the raga panchama possesses the same specific character of vasanta, which creates the environment and spirit of the spring. In the Hindusthani system of music, pañchama is different from dipaka. Experts differ in their opinion, regarding the form and manifestation of dipaka and panchama. As regards panchama, Pandit Ahobala (1700 A.D.) said: 'pañchama ri-pa-hīnaḥ syāl', i.e., the rāga pañchama is pentatonic (audava) in form, as the notes, rşabha and pañchama, are dropped in it. It is interesting to note that the fifth note, panchama is absent from the raga panchama. Some are of the opinion that dipaka and panchama are one and the same rāga, as the ancient form of dīpaka was afterwards transformed into panchama. But, in truth, there is no genuine proof in support of this view. In the Visnupur School of Music, we get two types of dibaka: one with panchama and the other without it. As for example,

- (a) Dipaka, with the note, panchama—

 //ma dha dha ni dha sa, ni dha ma, ma, ma pa ga, ri
 sa, ni sa/sa ma, ma, ma, pa, ga, ma dha ni dha ni sa,
 sa ri ni, dha ni dha ma, pa-ga, ma pa ga, ri sa/ etc.
- (b) Dīpaka without pañchama— //ma dha dha, ni ni dha ma, ma ga, ma dha ni dha, ma ga, ri sa/ma ma, ma ga, ma dha ni sa, ri sa ni dha, ma ma ga, ri sa/etc.

Pandit Sudarśanāchārya described pañchama as a rāga of the morning. He said that the rāga pañchama is conceived as an issue (son) of the rāga, hindola-saindhavī, with displaced (komala) rṣabha and dhaivata, sharp (śuddha) gāndhāra, madhyama and nisāda.

The tonal structure of the raga panchama is—'sa ni, ri sa, sa

ni ri ni dha, pa ma ga, ga ma dha ni, ri ni dha ma ga, ri sa/ri sa, dha ma ga-ri sa, ri-ni re sa, ma dha, pa ma dha, ma ga ri sa'/etc.

Paṇḍit Viṣṇunārāyaṇa Bhātkhaṇḍe recognised both the rāgas, pañchama and dīpaka, in his Kramika-pustakamālikā (vide Vol. V, pages 407-408 and Vol. VI, pages 40-41). He described the rāga pañchama in two different ways, and they are:

(a) The hexatonic (şāḍava) form —ma-dha-sa, ni-dha, ma-dha, ma-ga, re-sa, sa-ma, ga, ma-dha, ni-dha, ni-ma-dha...
 (b) The hexatonic (ṣāḍava) form —ma-dha-sa, ni-dha, ni-ma-dha...

(b) The heptatonic (sampūrņa) form—ga, ma-ga, ri-sa, ma, ma, ma-ga pa, ma-dha-ma-ma, dha-ma-ga, ma-dha-sa, sa ri-sa, ri-ni-dha, ma-dha-ma-ga-ga, ri-ga, ma-ga-ri-sa (with two madhyamas).

These two types of panchama evolved from the marowa scale, and they are known as the raga for the night. Pandit V. N. Bhātkhande said that the raga dīpaka evolved from the scale pūrvī. Some are of the opinion that dīpaka has been evolved from the scale kalyāna or vilābala. It is hepta-heptatonic (sampūrņa-sampūrņa) in form and is recognized as the rāga of the evening. The tonal form of it is: 'sa, pa, ga-pa-ga-ri-sa, sa-ga-pa, ma-dha-pa, ga-ma-dha pa-sa, ni-sa-re-sa, pa, ga-pa-ga-ri-sa' (rṣabha, dhaivata and madhyama are displaced). In the south Indian system, the tonal forms of panchama and dīpaka are different from one another. As for example,

(a) Pañchama—sa ri dha dha pa ni sa—sa ni dha ma ma ga ri sa (dhaivata and rṣabha are sharp, displaced (b) Dingha

(b) Dipaka—sa ga ma pa dha pa sa—sa ni dha ni pa ma ga ri sa (dhaivata and rṣabha are displaced, and penta-hexatonic in form)

Besides these two forms, there are variants of pañchama in the Carnātic system, and they are; kokila-pañchama, divya-lalita-pañchama, pūrṇa-pañchama, bhinna-pañchama, bhupāla-pañchama, lalita-pañchama, nāga-pañchama, śrī-pañchama, kāmoda-pañchama, ētc. These variants evolve from the compound form of two or more rāgas. In the fifth-seventh century A.D., we find

different types of rāga, like varāti, todi, gaudī, etc. In the later period, different types of bhairava, kedāra, gaurī, kāmoda, bāhāra, behāga, kānādā, tāranga, mallāra, nata were devised by the creative genius of the progressive society. In the South Indian system too, we notice various forms of the above rāgas.

Besides the tonal forms and different music materials, æsthetic sentiments and feelings play an important role in Indian music. The emotional sentiments like serene calmness (śānta), compassion (karuņa) and primal creative urge (śrngāra) are predominant in the raga vasanta. The sentiment of calmness (sama) brings a change in the corporal body (tanu-vyabhichāra), which is known as awe and delight. Detachment from worldly pleasures (nirveda or vairāgya) also generate from this serene sentiment. Tears well from the eyes, as a result of love and devotion. It brings mental equilibrium and control over the senses. The sentiment like compassion makes the heart soft and sympathetic. It brings also tears in the eyes, and causes sorrow, which enlightens the mind, instead of making it stupid and morbid. The prime sentiment, creative urge or strigara is not an ordinary juvenile excitement or sexual passion, as it is generally believed, but it is a creative energy that brings new life and inspiration. The subordinate mood (anubhava) and its effect on the body (tanu-vyābhichāra) are known as the tranquil happiness and desire for celestial bliss. These are the æsthetic sentiments and moods of not only of the raga vasanta, but also of the ragas, hindola, pañchama and vahara, etc. Some are of the opinion that vāhāra is a melody (rāga) of the sexual urge, and so it has been recognised as a raga of the springs or holi festival. But this view is untenable. It may be a fact that the rāga vāhāra evolved in the later period, and it is closely connected with the holi festival, but it is true that the prime emotional sentiment, śrngāra, which predominates in the rāga The Gaudiya vāhāra, makes it transcending and divine. Vaisņava savants and the Alamkārikas recognised singāra as the sentiment par excellence (ādi-rasa). Some are of the opinion that vāhāra was very favourite with the mystic musician, Svāmī

Haridās of Vīndāvana, and he introduced it in the system of classical music, as a special rāga for the sacred holi festival. But it should be investigated whether it is historically correct or not.

Now, let us see how rāga vasanta evolved with a novel and concrete idea in the domain of Indian music. Paṇḍit Dāmodara described vasanta as.

शिखण्डिबद्वींच्चयवन्धा नृद् कर्णावतं सीकृतशोभनाम्नी । इन्दोवरश्यामतन् विलासी

वसन्तिका स्यादिसमण्डश्री:।।

Vasanta is described here as a male $r\bar{a}ga$. He is absorbed in the divine contemplation of Lord Kṛṣṇa, and is dressed himself as Kṛṣṇa. In the top of his turban, the peacock feather is attached. He made his earing of mango-leaves. His body is shining like a blue lotus. He is luxurious, yet at the same time a true worshipper of divine beauty. The shining glow of his body looks like a swarm of dark-blue bees. The mango-leaves and blooming flowers attract the bees, mad for honey, and the green grasses and flowery creepers are the symbols of Nature. Lord Kṛṣṇa is the hero (nāyaka) of the vernal spring, and the rāga vasanta represents the beatific

Gradually vasanta was conceived as an embodiment or the representation of Sri Kṛṣṇa. Paṇḍit Lochana-kavi (1650 A.D.) the singing of the rāga vasanta as.

श्रीपञ्चमीं समार्थ्य यावत्स्याच्छयणं हरे:। तावद वसन्तराग्या सम्बद्धाः

That is, the raga-vasanta is sung from the Srī-pañchamī, in the

1. (a) Alternative reading 'बद्धचूड़ा'
(b) A slight alternative description :
शिखण्डबहोंच्चयपीड़ा
कर्णावतंशो स्फुरदाम्रपत्रा।
इन्दीबरस्यामतन मेनोक्षा
वसन्तिका स्यादलिमञ्जु लश्री:॥

month of Māgha (November-December) to the time, when Śri Hari (Lord Kṛṣṇa) goes to take rest. Paṇḍit Śubhaṅkara of the Saṅgīta-dāmodara (16th century A.D.) and Ghanaśyāma-Narahari of the Saṅgītasārasaṅgraha (early 18th century A.D.) referred to these lines, in favour of the specified time of the rāga vasanta. Somanāth (1900 A.D.) described vasanta as,

केशगर्किणुक एष प्रवेशिताम्राङ्करः पिकस्य मुखे । अध्यास्त्राह्म अध्यास्त्राहम अध्यास्त्राह्म अध्यास्त्र अध्यास्त्र स्त्राहम अध्यास्त्र स्त्राह्म अध्यास्त्र स्त्राहम अध्यास्त्र स्त्र स्त्र स्त्र प्रताहम अध्यास्त्र स्त्र स्त्र

That is, the raga vasanta has decorated his hairs with the palāśa flowers. The cuckoo, the messenger of the spring, is singing. Vasanta is also apparelled in an orange-red cloth, and the Nature around is glittering with golden bright hue. Prof. O. C. Gangoly said that some of the raga have been named after some seasons and sacred festivals of gods and goddesses. As for example, the raga like megha, vasanta, hindola, ŝrī, etc. are connected with the spring or holi festival. The raga hindola previously used to be sung in connection with the spring fesitval, Saturnalia. Afterwards it was recognized as the rāga of the holi festival. The characteristics of vasanta and hindola can also be applied to the raga madhumadhavi. The word 'madhu' indicates the spring season, and, consequently, madhumādhavī is known as the raga of the spring. But it seems that it was originally the raga of the rainy season, sung in the month of Vaisākha (kāla-vaisākhī). In ancient pictures of the rāga madhumādhavī, the scenes of the dust storm of the month of Vaiśākha, lightning and dances of the peacocks are depicted. In the manuscript of Nārada-Dattila's Rāgasāgara preserved in the Madras Manuscript Library, we find the name of the raga 'madhumāvati', which may be the real name of madhumādhavī. As the rāga was connected with the the worship of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, it was known as madhumādhavī. Another rāga prathama-mañjarī has also been in connection with the spring season. The name of prathamamañjarī was afterwards changed into patamañjarī (paṭṭḥ-mañjarī). The raga chyūta-manjari is also connected with the spring or rainy season. The name 'chyūta-mañjari' signifiles the new leaves or blossoms of the mango-tree, ('chyuta' means 'mango'

and 'manjari' signifies new leaves or blossom). It evolved from the rāga hindola. Another rāga āmra-panchamī is connected with the summer season. So it is found that some of the beautiful rāgas have been named after some seasons and sacred festivals.

The rāga-vasanta evolved out of the conceptions of some emotional sentiments and environments. The tonal arrangement of vasanta creates an atmosphere of the vernal season, so the intuitive artists and musicologists connect this rāga with the vernal season, spring.

The spring is an intermediary season between the winter and the summer, so it brings a balance between those two extreme seasons. The mystic poets symbolize the winter with death and the spring with life. They say that the spring comes after the winter, which means that death is overcome by life, as if the dream is replaced by the waking state, or the shadow of darkness is removed by the shining light. After the winter season, the spring appears with a newness of life, and it animates and elevates the body and mind of all living beings. The whole Nature looks barren and shattered during the cold winter season. With the advent of spring, new golden leaves come out of the branches of the trees. The barren earth is again bedecked with green grasses and flowers. The gloomy atmosphere and dull appearance of the universe is rejuvenated with new life. The people are then inspired with new hope and vigour.

In the West, the spring is considered as the symbol of revivification or rejuvenation. In this season, the Anglo-Saxon races perform a festival in commemoration of the goddess Estore or Istārā, Freyjā, and others. The worship of Estore, or Istār, or Istārā is observed in the spring in the month of March or April (Bengali Fālguna or Chaitra). For this reason, Easter is known as the spring festival (vasantotsava). The Vāsantīpūjā and the autumnal Durgāpūjā of India, and Christmas and Easter Festivals of the Christian countries have the same significance. The Christmas and Easter festivals are

considered by the Christian as Church-festivals, and are observed in the memory of Christ's resurrection. All the Christians observe the day of Christ's death on the 25th December. They consider the 27th December as the day of Christ's resurrection. Dr. Frazer is of the opinion that all the Messengers like Jesus the Christ, and gods and goddesses like Adonis, Attis, Osiris, Horas and the Asiatic goddesses, Durgā, Vāsantī Annapūrņā and Jagaddhātrī are no other than the solar deities. They represent also the corn-goddesses or vegetable-spirits. The Hindu belief differs from that of Dr. Frazer. The latter deals with this matter elaborately in the Golden Bough. Struss, Robertson, Conybear, Drews and other Western savants are of the opinion that the Church festivals, which are observed in commemoration of death, crucifixion and resurrection of Christ, originated from the conception of death and rejuvination of the Nature. They reject even the historical personage of Jesus the Christ, and call it a sun-myth. Indian scholars have not altogether reject this view, as they opine that the Vāsantīpūjā, Durgāpūjā, Dola-yātrā or Holi festivals represent the Natureworship, and they have originated from the worship of Mitra or Mithra i.e. sun-worship, and, consequently, from the sunmyth. The sun is known as Mitra or the universal friend of the universe. The Itupūjā is also the sun-worship, as the word 'Itu' has been derived from Mitu> Mita> Mitra, which is no other than the sun, the eternal friend. Vaisnavas observe holi festival, which is known as the avirotsava. The avira is red in colour, and it represents the vermillion hue of the dawn or rising sun. The avirotsava or holi festival is observed in the sacred memory of Lord Krsna in the spring season. Śrī Kṛṣṇa is the divine incarnation of Viṣṇu, who is no other than the sun. So the holi festival is a solar festival, which is observed in the memory of the sun in the spring season. Regarding the worship of Mitra or Mithra, J. M. Robertson said that it is no other than the worship of the sun. From Herodotus' (1.131) writing in the fifth century B.C., we learn that in some way the god Mithra was identified with a goddess. Mithra later figures for us in the strange symbolic figure of the lionheaded serpentine god, but, above all, in that of the slayer of the bull. It has been variously decided that the bull, slain by Mithra, is the symbol of the earth, the symbol of the moon, the bull of the Zodiac, and the cosmogonic bull of the Magian system. It is perfectly intelligible and probable that Mithra, slaying the bull, should have meant the rays of the sun, penetrating the earth, and so creating life for mundane creatures, as the dog feeds on the blood of the slain bull. There can be no reasonable doubt that these successive religious representations of the slaying of the lion and the slaying of the bull rest on a Zodiacal system of sacred symbolism, which the slaying of a given animal means either the passing of the sun into a particular sign of the Zodiac at a particular season of the year, or the slaying of the animal represents a special sacrifice. Again, if it be right to decide that the slaying of the bull originally pointed to the sun's entering the sign of the bull at the vernal equinox, then this symbol dates back, probably, more than 3,000 years before the Christian era; while the symbol of the slaying of the lion would signify the sun's entrance into Leo at Midsummer in the same period. In fact, the image of the slaying of the bull came to be associated specially with the idea of sacrifice and purification—purification by the blood of bulls and rams. The resurrection and eternal life were secured by drenching or sprinkling with the actual blood of a sacrificial bull or ram.

Further he said that the rising sun would be daily hailed with joy, as among the Jewish Essenes, and sun-worshippers everywhere. The Christmas is a solar festival of unknown antiquity. Easter is also a solar festival. We learn from to life again. The Mithraic Christians actually continued to celebrate Christmas day as the birthday of the sun, despite the censures of the Pope. Christmas was an Osirian and Adonisian festival also. The celebrations in memories of Apollo, Hercules, Demeter, and Pessidon use to bear the same

significance. Dr. Frazer discussed it in Garden of Adonis, and Syāmī Abhedānanda, in his Christ and Christmas.

The $r\bar{a}ga$ vasanta invokes the spirit of the vernal season of the solar origin, and so it is recognized as the best $r\bar{a}ga$ from the æsthetic viewpoint and from that of philosophy. Let us illustrate some of the songs that create an atmosphere of the spring and newness of life. These are:

- (क) सुभग वसन्त नवल-लता, पल्लब लागि द्रुम सुमन सुखदायी। शीतल पवन सुगन्ध रुचिर चारु लागे मधवन भरलायि॥
- (स्व) उद्दत बुन्दन नव अवीर वङ्ग कुमकुम खेलत, बसन्त बन-लाल गिरिवर-धारण ।
- (ग) चलो सखी कुञ्जधामे, खेलत बसन्तश्याम संग लिये, राधे नाम रूप गुण जागेरि ।
- (घ) वसन्त आगत भयो आज सस्तिशे। वरण वरण कमलदल-कुसुम-दिकाशि। अति अनुपम मनोहर कोयेला बोले।।

The symbolic language and idea of the songs inspire the mind of all, and bring unto them a materialised vision of the blossoming of the trees and creepers, cool breeze, scented and coloured wreaths of flowers and sweet songs of the cuckoo, together with the vermillion hue of the āvira in the holi festival of the spring. Besides dhruvapadas, there are dhāmāra type of songs, which create a rhythmic and rousing atmosphere of the dynamic Nature. They are:

- (क) होरि खेलन आये नन्दद्तार (दीपक) ;
- (ख) खेलत होरिभर काञ्चन पिचकारी श्यामरो—री (परज);
- (ग) खेलन ऐसी होरि आइ ब्रिजनारी मद माती निरस्व श्वामलपदारे (छायानट)।

The songs in the rāgas, dīpaka, paraja, chāyānata, etc. describe the divine sportive play of Lord Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and create a celestial atmosphere.

The psychological effect of the rāga vasanta and its variants are amazing and divine. The development of vasanta begins mostly from the high tonic (tāra-ṣadja) of the middle octave, and the manifestations of the displaced rṣabha, both the madhyama and sharp gāndhāra create a rhythmic movement in the minds of both the artists and listeners. During the time of the ascent, the rāga vasanta rises from the tonic to the fourth note (madhyama), producing a curve but blending tune, naturally known as gamaka, which creates a balanced and peaceful emotional sentiment and mood. The entire manifestation of the tonal form of the rāga vasanta creates a mental picture of the spring.

In Bengal, the raga vasanta is profusely used in padavalikīrtana on the occasions of holi, jhulana, rāsalīlā of Lord Kṛṣṇa. It is also a favourite raga in most of the folk songs of different parts of India. In padāvalī-kīrtana, different types of vasanta are used, and they are: gaurī-vasanta, vasanta-vāhāra, māyūravasanta, śrī-bhupālī-vasanta, mālasi or malasrī-vasanta, kāmodavasanta, behāga-vasanta, suhāi-vasanta, vasanta-dhāni or vasantadhāneśrī, vasanta-jayajayantī, gurjarī-vasanta, sohinī-vasanta, kalyāņavasanta, etc. The mystic Vaisnava poets of Bengal consider the spring as an important season. In most of their devotional compositions, they have described the spring as a symbol of new life and new inspiration, and their aim and object are to transcend the transient beauty and grandeur of the phenomenal world and to dive deep into the ocean of eternal peace and tranquility. There is a beautiful poem of the mystic poet Vidyāpati that invokes the spirit and atmosphere of the spring, together with the spirit of the raga vasanta:

> नव वृन्दावन नव नव तरुगण नव नव विकशित फुल । नओल बसन्त नऔल मलया निल मातल नव अलिकुल ।

The ever-new Vindavana, the trees and creepers with new full-blown flowers, the vernal season, the new cooling malayabreeze (the breeze that flows from the south), and the newinspired bees created the living environment of the spring. The noted indologist, Kannoomal gave æsthetic references of the rāga vasanta, together with dipaka, madhumādhavi etc., from a Sanskrit manuscript, Sangeetmālā, in the Rūpam (July, 1922). He described vasanta as a nāyikā (a ragiņī), and said that she is of a lovely dark appearance, as the sweet smell comes out of her lotus-like mouth and a swarm of black bees gather about her face, and make a humming sound. She has beauty and lustre of the person of cupid and youth that captivates young men. Her breasts are hard, and she holds buds of mango plants, in her lotus-like hands. The rāgiņī is sung in kharaj (=tonic-sadja) svara, in spring, in the second part of the day. The rhetorical interpretation of the raga (or rāgiņī) vasanta is that she is a nāyikā i.e. a young passionate woman, who is well skilled in all the arts of her lover. Her lover is dhīrodātta, and the sentiment is vipralambha śringāra.

The rāga vasanta is a symbol of new life. In the winter, everything is in a dying condition, and in the spring, it is revived. The rāga vasanta can be compared with the transcendental light that reigns supreme with its undying luminosity and glory. It dances like Natarāja on the breast of the Apasmāra that represents death of winter season. The winter season symbolizes death, and the spring, life. The rāga vasanta, therefore, conquers death and brings immortal life unto mortal man.

CHAPTER SEVEN

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CHANGE-CUM-DEVELOPMENT IN MUSIC

General Discussion

There are some who believe that everything in this world remains always in a constant or static form, and there is nothing like dynamic in the sense of change. But this belief has no logical and scientific basis, because everything in this world of change is subject to origin and movement. As for example, a tree remains at first in a seed form, then comes out as a sprout, and gradually develops into a big tree. A man remains as a child before he attains maturity. So change is inevitable in this world of space-time.

We are fully aware of the golden proverb: 'Rome was no. built in a day', but, in truth, not only Rome, but all the cities and countries, nay, all things in this world of phenomena, have grown and have been built and shaped through a gradual process, and nothing is ever made or created accidentally, or by chance. Something develops means it moves gradually forward through space and time. Indian music has been developed through the same process. It passed through different stages of evolution in different periods, primitive, prehistoric, vedic, classical, mediæval, and modern. It will move onward again, and will be rectified and modified in the near and distant future. Music of the primitive period supplied materials for the music of the Vedic period. The Vedic music again helped the onward progress of the music, the classical period which in its turn, was replaced by the desi type of music, with some new nomenclatures and forms. So music undergoes changes through all the ages with additions, alterations, modifications, reconstructions, adjustments, and readjustments, rectifications, and so on. Therefore, possibility of new orientation in form and manifestation of

music should neither be discouraged, nor be overlooked or rejected, but we should draw inspiration from the glorious heritage of the past and the ideal of Indian music. Modern science and research work have helped our musicology to have a new and progressive orientation.

Musicology is known as science of music, as it helps to understand or realize music in its true perspective and colour. It formulates laws and rules that lead music to its right path, and thus protects and preserves purity and glory as it were. The musicologists and musicians are fully aware that the svaras (the word 'sva' means 'by itself' and 'ra' connotes the idea of rañjana which means 'pleasing') are the vital elements in the domain of Indian music, and that they design the melodic forms. Musicology has also devised the microtones long before the advent of the Christian era and framed the notes that are deeply saturated with emotions or subtle sentiments. The melody-types are formed out of the permutations and combinavons of the notes. The notes are, therefore, the norm or matrix of the melodies and they create impressions and rouse the emotive feelings in the hearts of the sentient beings. The note that generates the greater number of emotion and emotive feeling, is called the sonant or $v\bar{a}d\bar{\imath}$. The function of the sonant is to help the manifestation of the melodies. The vada (vadanāt vādī, i.e. which speaks of, or determines, or makes manifest the melody) or sonant is the prime thing, and it plays a prominent part in the field of Indian music. It helps the living beings to be conscious of their innate delightful nature. It makes them conscious of their inherent divine energy that lies dormant in the subconscious mind. Samvādī means the consonant or melodic affinity between the notes, first and fourth, or first and fifth, and it occurs at the distances of the ninth and thirteenth microtonal units. Samvādī is known as the consonant, because it brings affinity between two allied notes. Anuvādī is known as the assonant, and it acts next to vādī $(anu+v\bar{a}d\bar{\imath}, i.e.$ that comes after $v\bar{a}d\bar{\imath}$, the sonant), while the other one is known as the vivādī or dissonant, for having a contrary tendency, bent upon destroying the state of equlibrium or the balance of the melody, and is, therefore, unhelpful in perfecting the emotive feelings. These will be discussed afterwards in detail.

The srutis play an important role in the field of music. In the West, śruti is known as semitone or microtone. It is the subtle and audiable sound that forms the background of the tones. There are two aspects of the sruti, mechanical and emotional or æsthetic. (a) The mechanical aspect of śruti is constituted of twenty-two parts or units which form a saptaka (octave in the West) of Indian music. The Greek musicologists divided an octave i.e. saptaka by the cycles of fifths and fourths, each giving eleven microtones of unequal intervals. The mechanical aspect is so called because it is a mechanical process by which a musician can devise the ratios between the tones and the units of vibrations of the tones. (b) The emotional or æsthetic aspect of sruti is concerned with the artists who analyse the structure of various ragas which form the vital part or life-force of Indian music.

It should be noted that the Indian microtones (śrutis) are determined by the important relationship of major and minor thirds. This relationship is commonly known as gāndhāra-bhāva (either śuddha, vikṛta or komala or chromatic gāndhāra). The gāndhāra-bhāva can be given to the pentatonic or auḍava rāgas.

The twenty-two śrutis and ten essentials (daśa-lakṣaṇas) are indispensible for the fuller manifestation of the rāgas, which are possessed of some significance and value. Besides śrutis, there are varṇas and alaṃkāras, mūrcchanās, and other musical ingredients. It has been said before that the varṇas are the musical efforts, which are known as gāna-kriyā. They determine ascent and descent of notes of the rāgas that create the sentiments and emotive feelings (rasa and bhāva). The rāgas are so called because they create enjoyability (rakti-bhāva) which originates from the sentiments lying hidden in the tones and microtones. The alaṃkāras are the combined froms of ascent and descent of the seven notes, and as such they are

the varieties of the varnas or musical efforts. The murcehanas evolve with the help of the notes in a cyclic order, and they create different shades (chāyās) of the rāgas, having different Vistāra or elaboration of the notes creates ālāpa emotions. that makes the prabandhas or musical compositions and sthāyas or musical phrases of the songs (gitis) perfect and significant with the parts like ākṣiptikā, from which a rāga is thrown out or manifested in all directions, rāgavardhanī that makes the expansion of the rāga, etc. (vide Chaturdandiprakāśikā, VIII. 1-11). The Sangita-Ratnākara is mainly concerned with ākṣiptikā in connection with alapa, and aksiptika is divided into four parts. The method of ālāpa makes a rāga fully manifest, with its æsthetic beauty and emotional appeal. Besides, there are other essential materials which are required to be observed for making the ragas manifest fully, with their rakti and rasa bhāvas.

Now, what are a prabandha and a sthāya? A prabandha is a systematic musical composition, bound up with different dhātus (music-parts), six angas (limbs), and five jātis, etc. A sthāya or thāya is a musical phrase that creates the shade (chāyā) of the rāga. Pārśvadeva and Śārangadeva fully described the form as well as the nature of the sthāya in the Sangīta-samayasāra and the Sangīta-Ratnākara. Pārśvadeva observed (vide Sangīta-samayasāra, II. 34-3):

गत्या गम्कयोगेन रागेणान्येन केन वा। स्वरैर्वृत्तिः स्वरवृत्तिष्ठाय इत्यभिधीयते।।

The cluster of notes is the basis of a musical effort or varna which is known as gāna-kriyā, and the cluster of notes is no other than a musical phrase or sthāya. Pārśvadeva further observed it, and said,

तत्र स्थाय्यादिवर्णानामाश्रयः स्वरमण्डलः । स्थानमित्युच्यते तस्मिन्नदाष्ट्रणमच्यते ॥

यथा वेलावल्यां ध नि स रि ग म प, छायानट्यायां स रि ग म प ध नि इत्यादि। In fact, a sthāya is a shadowy form (chāyā) or tonal structure of a rāga. Šārangadeva said: 'rāgasyāvayavah sthāyi'! (III. 97). The total number of the musical phrases (sthāyas) are 96, as described by both Pārśvadeva and Śārangadeva, These 96 phrases are meant for gītis or vocal music. There are also phrases (sthāyas) for the musical instruments, and they are known as rāgamagnā: 'rāgamagnā vādyasabdā yeşu te vādyasabdajāh'² (SR. III. 119). Simhabhupāla mentioned: 'rāgamagnā rāgānurañjitā ye vīṇādiṣveva vāhulyena prayogā drśyante, te yantrasamvandhinah'³. Now, ascent and descent of notes of the musical phrases, together with musical efforts (varṇas), the sonant (vādī or aṃsa), and the consonant (samvādī), etc. create æsthetic sense and emotional appeal in the hearts of the living beings.

Now a question arises as to whether we observe these things for manifesting the ragas in our present-day music. We say that we do so to some extent, without knowing their proper use and value. We know that there are microtones in between the tones of the ragas and that they radiate æsthetic sentiments for creating enjoyability in our music, but we do not care to be conscious of them, nor do we know how and when we will have to create adequate emotions and feelings by the tones. We know about varnas and alamkāras, but we, so to say, forget their use, intrinsic value, and colour. the importance of the sonant, the consonant, and the assonant, but we do not know their use and even their functions, when practising or demonstrating the ragas. We read or hear about the musical compositions like prabandhas and different musical phrases like sthāyas having emotional units, but we take very little care and interest for reviving their real forms, beauty, and value. These are not healthy signs for the reorientation of music. So every one of us, who love music

^{1.} रागस्यावयवः स्थायी।

^{2.} रागमग्ना वाद्यशब्दा येषु ते वाद्यशब्दजाः।

^{3.} रागमग्ना रागानरञ्जिता ये बीणादिष्वेव वाहुल्येन प्रयोगा दृश्यन्ते, ते यन्त्र-सम्बन्धिनः।

and culture music, should strive his or her utmost to avert the impending calamity over our divine music. The secret of practice of Indian music is maintained in traditional way of understanding between the teacher and the disciple (guru-tisya-paramparaya) throughout the ages, so if this divine art is guided by the inspiration of the musical tāstras and intuitive teachers, its form and ideal will again be revived like that prevailing in the glorious past.

The constructive work in the field of musicology should always be welcomed to strengthen the bed-rock of Indian music. Physics, physiology, psychology, history, iconography, and philosophy of music should carefully be studied in true perspective, and their useful principles should be applied to music where and when necessary for the betterment of its form, volume, and value. The musical theory in the West has already been developed in a dynamic way, because science has been put into use in the field of its study. The fruit of such a scientific development is apparent in the lives of the Western geniuses like Helmhotz, Miller, Einstein, Jeans, Sullivan, Lord Raybeigh, Alexander, Wood, Seashore, Revesz, Percy Buck, Wilmer Bartholomew, and other scientists and physicists. They have enriched, enlightened, and enlivened the researchical and experimental fields of the Western music. In India, the celebrated old masters like Muni Bharata, Kohala, Yāstika, Kaśyapa, Matanga, Pārśvadeva, Śārangadeva, Vidyāranya, Pundarika Vitthala, Somanāth, Dāmodara, Govinda Diksita, Venkatamakhi, and others, and modern savants like Pt. Archekar, Pandit Vişnu Nārāyana Bhātkhande, Sir. S. M. Tagore, Kşetra Mohan Gosvāmī, Rādhā Mohan Sen, Kṛṣṇadhone Banerjee, and others have enriched the lore of Indian music by their incessant researches and experiments.

Still it remains for us to do something by adopting and assimilating new and novel means and methods to improve our glorious tradition of music. A new era of scientific outlook has dawned upon the horizon of the world of investigation and research, and social envoirnment and atmosphere have

undergone revolutionary changes, and as such we will have to investigate into the things of the past in the light of the modern scientific research work. The old Sanskrit treatises should be surveyed from modern scientific outlook, and a constructive view should always be maintained with creative approach. Superstition, bigotry, and fanaticism should always be shunned for the shake of truth, and we must have liberal and broad vision in every walk of our life.

It is gratifying to learn that the Deccan College of Poona is doing its experimental research on music under the ablè guidance of Dr. Sankaran, Dr. B. Chaitanya Dev, and others. The Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore is also making new researches on music. Interesting experiments are also going on in the Universities of Jubbalpore and Annamalai, where the chemists and the botanists are studying the effect of music on the properties of matter and on plants. The same experiments have already been started in the laboratories of Bell Telephone Company, Harvard and Iowa Universities in the West. A. H. Swinton, Prof. A. M. Mayer, Frank E. Lutz. and others have also made researches on the musical sounds of the insects, and some of their research works have already been published in the Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, U.S.A. All these works and researches reveal hopeful sign for the future prospect of

Change is Inherent

Change is the inherent nature of the world. Change and development are inevitable in everything of the phenomena. The spirit as well as the pattern of the $g\bar{\imath}tis$, $g\bar{a}nas$, and $r\bar{a}gas$ are also subject to change, being part and parcel of the stuff of the human society and so we find their new and novel forms and types from time to time.

The classical gitis or types of song were known by their respective rāgas in the 5th-7th century, and they were known

as the ragagitis. The ganas were somewhat different in their forms and renderings, so the suddha, gaudi, bhinna, etc. ragagitis were found different from the ganas like magadhi, ardha-magadhi, etc. and also from the druvās. It should be remembered that among the gānas, the māgadhī, etc. were formalised dest ones, whereas the druvas were the classical dramatic ones. Matanga (in 5th-7th century A.D.) fully defined and described the forms of the ragagītis in the Brhaddesi. In the Natyasastra, we find that Bharata (2nd century A.D.) only mentioned about four formalised desi songs (nātyagītis) like māgadhī. ardha-māgadhī, prthulā and sambhāvitā, which can be said to be the gitis. These gitis were used along with the sixty-four gānas or druvās. But both the gitis and the ganas had their grounds in the grāmas, sadja and madhyama. The gāndhāra-grāma was out of practice at that time (even in the beginning of the Christian century). The ancient grāmas used to play the role of the scales, which were changed afterwards into different melas, or thatas, or melakartas. But it should be noticed that both the gramas and the melas used to serve the same purpose of determining the ragas.

The newly evolved regional tunes i.e. melodies (desi-rāgas) were divided into rāgas and upa-rāgas, i.e. into main and subordinate melody-types. The post-Bharata musicologists further divided them into rāgānga, bhāṣānga, kriyānga, and upānga. From them many other desi-rāgas evolved with new names and forms, and they came to be known as the mixed or samkirna-rāgas. The mediæval musicologists like Umāpati and others classified the rāgas into pure, subordinate, and mixed (suddha, chāyālaga or sālaga and samkirna). The origin of the rāgas were mystified by the ancient musicologists, headed by Umāpati, with some spiritual garbs, and, in the Aumāpatam (by Umāpati), we find that the suddha-rāgas were described as Siva, the chāyālaga or sālaga-rāgas as Sakti, and the samkīrņa ones as Siva and Sakti principles combined.

We have seen that the ragas manifest themselves with the help of varņas, mūrchhanās, alamkaras, sthāyas, gamakas, etc.

Their tonal forms (sthāyas) are not fixed or constant, as they change from time to time to suit the taste and temperament of the changing society, but their basic forms, together with ideal, for which they stand, remain the same for all the time. It has been discussed that the seven pure jātirāgas were in practice during the time of the Rāmāyaṇa (400 B.C.), and afterwards they underwent gradual changes or transformations, and, consequently, eleven more jātirāgas together with the ancient seven ones, i.e. we find 7+11=18 jātirāgas evolved in the beginning of the Christian era. Muni Bharata dealt with these 18 jātis in the Nātyaśāstra. The same process of evolution happened in the case of the gramaragas and other angaragas. In the Mahabharata and the Harivamsa, we find the mention of six basic grāmarāgas ("sad-grāmarāga"), whereas in the Nāradīśikṣā (1st century A.D.), we find already seven grāmarāgas, and this fact has been supported by the Kudumiyāmālāi Rock Inscription of the 7th century A.D.

It has already been said that the ragas are determined by some specific characteristics like sonant, assonant, consonant, dissonant etc., and Bharata fully discussed about them. are also other factors involved for the healthy manifestation of the ragas and they are known as varna, jāti (heptatonic, etc.), murcchana, meru, khandameru, and rasa (æsthetic sentiment). Some of the main ragas are considered as the basic ones, which are again determined by the principles of formation, manifestation, rendering, and some intrinsic nature of the ragas. They were known as melas or thatas or melakartas. The term 'mela' signifies the idea of 'bringing in a synthetic form' among the variant forms of the ragas. The word 'thata' is of the Persian origin, and it means 'the structure' or 'form', and the word 'melakartās' is the synonym of the mela. The name melakartā is specially used in the South Indian or Carnatic system of music. The mela or thata has been conceived as 'a ground' or 'a base' where a rāga takes its stand and makes itself manifest. Some are of the opinion that the word 'mela' is a product of the 16th-17th century A.D., and was coined after the

genus-specis (janya-janaka) principle. Some of the modern scholars ignore the utility of mela or thāta, as the rāgas are determined by their own specific groupings. But a mela as a base is necessary for the proper manifestation of a rāga. The system of mela or thāta was subordinate to mūrechanā in ancient time, and it possessed seven notes like a mela. There are others who disagree with this view. But, in spite of the controversy over the origin of the mela or thāta, most of the musicologists say that the rāgas of different ages evolved from the mūrechanās. It might be the fact that the grāmas were afterwards replaced by the mūrechanās.

Now, leaving aside different controversies about the ancient system of music if we look into the system of the rāgas of the present system, we find that all the rāgas having different natures, are determined by ten melas or thātas. But for many reasons we prefer thirtysix melas for easy controlling and conducting all kinds of rāga. This new method of ten melas was adopted by Paṇḍit V. N. Bhātkaṇḍe. Before him, we find different number of melas which were included in the genus-species (janya-janaka) principle. In the middle of the 17th century A.D., twelve saṁsthānas (melas) were current in the Indian society, and those saṁsthānas are elaborately described in the Rāgataraṅginī by Paṇḍit Lochana-kavi. The present system of Carnatic music has adopted 72 basic scales or melakartās, which were devised by Paṇḍit Govinda Dikṣit and Venkatamakhī in the 16th century A.D.

Now, let us discuss about some of the changing phases of the rāgas of the 14th-15th century A.D., though many changes already took place in the forms of rāgas in ancient times. There were many musicologists and authors who composed and compiled authentic books on music. Among them, the name of Śāraṅgadeva, who flourished in the early 13th century A.D., is worth-mentioning. He composed the encyclopædic work, Saṅgīta-Ratnākara or the 'Ocean of Music'. Siṁhabhupāla (1330 A.D.), and Kallināth (1446-1465 A.D.) were known as the principal commentators of that work, Rāṇā Kumbhā or

Kumbhakarna of Mewar also wrote a beautiful commentary on it. He wrote the commentary Sangītarāja and also on commentary on the Gitagovinda, known as Rasikapriya. Simhabhupāla and Kallināth sometimes differed from each other, and sometimes Kallinath also differed from Sarangadeva in respect of forms of the ragas and of many other things. cite an example, Śārangadeva described the rāga, bāngālī, which evolved out of the gramaraga, bhinna-sadja, having its sonant (amsa or vādī) and final note (nyāsa) as dhaivata. It is pentatonic (audava), the third and the fifth notes being left out (varjita), whereas the commentator, Kallinath, described the bangali, evolved from the rāga mālavakauśīka as heptatonic (sampūrņa) in form and having the sonant, and the initial note (graha) as the madhyama and the final note (nyāsa) as şadja. It should be remembered that Sarangadeva described the raga, bangal (and not bāngālī) evolved out of different basic scales, one from the sadja-grāma, and other from the madhyama-grāma. There we find differences of opinion as regards fixation as well as determination of the intrinsic nature of the ragas. In this way, it can be shown that the ragas like gurjarī, māngalī (or mangala), kāmboji (khamāich or khamāj) etc. have been defined and determined in different ways by different musicologists of different times. Divergences of opinion, in relation to different manifestations of the rāgas, connote the idea of change. We further find that the total forms of the ragas, prevalent during the time of Matanga (5th-7th century A.D.), Pārśvadeva (7th-9th or 9th-11th century A.D.), Nanyadeva (1097-1157 A.D.), Someśvaradeva (1131 A.D.), Sārangadeva (early 13th century A.D.), Simhabhupāla, Kallināth, Rāmāmatya (1550 A.D.), Pundarika Vitthala (1498-1667 A.D.), Somanāth (1609 A.D.), Dāmodara (1625 A.D.), Ahobala (17th century A.D.), Lochana-kavi (middle of the 17th century A.D.) and others, were further changed in the early 19th century A.D. The ancient standard scale, current between the 12th to 17th century A.D., was similar to mukhārī or kāphī-mela to some extent, changed into the vilābala-mela, which is current in the present Hindusthani system of music.

So, if we examine the structures of the ragas that have been depicted in the works like Sangīta-Ratnākara, Sangīta-Dāmodara, Sangīta-Darpaṇa, Svaramelakalānidhi, Sangīta-Pārijāta, Rāgavibodha, Rāgatarangiņī, etc., we find that most of them were changed, though their contemplative composition (dhyānas or dhyāna-mantras), together with the spirit and ideal, remained the same. As for example, the raga bhairava is depicted in Pandit Dāmodara's Sangīta-Darpana as pentatonic (audava), having the notes 'dha, ni, sa, ga, ma', or 'sa, ga, ma, dha, ni' as the tonal form, whereas it has been described as heptatonic (sampūrņa), constructed out of the seven notes: 'sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni', having the second and the sixth notes as flat or chromatic (komala). We also notice a change in their sonant and final notes. Regarding the rāga, mālavakausīka or mālavakaišiki, Pandit Dāmodara is of the opinion that it is heptatonic, having its sonant as well as initial and final notes as sadja, whereas it has been described as pentatonic (audava), devoid of the notes, rsabha and panchama in the present system of Hindusthānī music. Again Pandit Dāmodara described the rāga, guņakrī (guņakirī or guņakelī) as pentatonic, devoid of the second and the sixth notes, but it is described as either pentatonic or heptatonic in the present system of Hindusthānī music. The pentatonic form of gunakiri has its basic ground on the parent melaraga, bhairava, and its heptatonic form rests on the melarāga, vilābala. In this way, it can be shown that most of the rāgas of ancient time have been metamorphosed into new forms in the present Hindusthānī system. The same process happened in the Carnatic system. But still we find that there exists a link between the two systems, ancient and modern.

Again we find that though Matanga followed the system of music, as contained in the Nātyašāstra to some extent, yet he differed in many respects, and, therefore, introduced some new patterns of rāga in the Bṛhaddeśī. Nārada (of the Sangīta-Makaranda) and Sārangadeva followed many of the rules and methods as advocated by Bharata and Matanga, but yet they differed in many respects in determination of natures

and structures of the rāgas. Pauņḍarika, Ahobala, Lochana, Venkatamakhī, Śrinivāsa and others followed the system of music, as advocated by Śārangadeva, but still they differed from him in many respects, and formulated some new and novel things in their treatises. Thus we find that both the authors and the composers introduced some sort of novel forms in music in almost in every age, but many changes came into being in modes, forms, scales, and constituent elements of the rāgas.

Some are of the opinion that in the time of Bharata (in the 2nd century A.D.), the jātis or jātirāgas used to be recognised by their respective grāmas and mūrcchanās, and afterwards from the time of Matanga (5th-7th century A.D.), the ragas (gramarāgas and other deśi-rāgas) formed out of the mūrcchanās. A mūrcchanā is known by its gradual ascent and descent (ārohaṇa and avarohana) of the seven notes, and it may be called the womb (yoni), or fountainhead of the system of scale. A mela or thata or melakarta is also of the same nature. Even at the time of Pandit Damodara (17th century A.D.), as is believed by some musicologists, the ragas used to be determined by and also evolved out of the murcchanas. Pandit Damodara said that the raga-bhairava evolved from the dhaivata-mūrcchanā: dha, ni, sa, ri, ga, ma, pa-pa, ma, ga, ri, sa, ni, dha, and therefore, called it a pentatonic (audava) rāga, having the tonal form, dha, ni, sa, ga, ma-ma, ga, sa, ni, dha, corresponding to sa, ga, ma, pa, dha—dha, pa, ma, ga, sa. Many of the rāgas of the South Indian or Carnatic system took new forms after the advent of Pandit Govinda Diksit and Venkatamakhi (early 17th century A.D.). Pt. Venkatamakhi worked upon fifteen janaka or mela rāgas, already devised by the philosophermusicologist Mādhava-Vidyāranya of the 14th-15th century A.D., and they were afterwards developed into 72 melakartās. Some new creation also happened with additions and alterations of the notes in the field of music. Sometimes it is believed that the ragas of the South Indian system are preserving their ancient tradition even to this day, without taking

any change or alteration. But that is not wholly correct. Because men of all countries are more or less possessed of different creative faculties and new visions, so it is not possible for them to maintain the old patterns or forms all the time. After the advent of Tyāgarāja, Kheṣtrajña, Muthusvāmī Dikṣitar, Śyāmā Śāstrī, Svāti Tirunal and others, there happened many changes in the domain of South Indian music. Even in the modern time, additions and alterations are made in the forms as well as in the system of the rāgas.

So, not only music of India, but also music of all nations of all countries of the world undergo changes in their forms and systems, and that music as a fine art, is not a frame of steel which will remain changeless and static all the time, rather it is bound to involve the processes of many adjustments and re-adjustments from time to time to suit the taste and temperament of the changing society. The human taste is always free to reject and rectify the old ones and to infuse new blood and vigour in them. So the followers of one system or school (gharāṇā) should neither condemn nor defy the other ones for introducing some new techniques and textures in rāgas, because developments and changes-like additions and alterations are bound to happen in the field of art and culture of music.

CHAPTER EIGHT

WORD, STYLE, LITERATURE AND PRABANDHA

Origin and Nature of Prabandha

The word 'prabandha' means well-fitted composition to be sung-'prakrstarūpena baddhatvāt prabandhah', and it is a composition of a particular type. We have already discussed that in Bharata's Nātyaśāstra (2nd century A.D.), we find sixtyfour dhruvā-prabandhas, known as the dramatic songs (nātyagītis). Bharata defined and mentioned them to be used in the dramatic plays. While explaining the significance of different prabandhas, Śārangadeva (early 13th century) defined and divided the songs as gandharbha and deśi : 'गान्धव मुक्त' प्रागाधूना गानम्च्यते'। The druvā-prabandhas were included in the category of gandharva, and Bharata said that they were applied with the help of kaiski-vrtti which were generally used by the female players. Kallināth said in his commentary : गानविशेषः प्रवन्धः', and prabandha is the mārga-class of song. The druvaprabandha, which has been described by Sarangadeva in the Sangita-Ratnākara, was different from the stage-song, dhruyā. In the 12th century, we find the use of prabandha in Jayadeva's Gitagovinda: 'करोति जयदेवकवि: प्रवन्धम्'। That prabandha was the padagāna, composed in Avahatta-Bengali-Sanskrit language.

The prabandhas are of two kinds, nibaddha (bound) and anibaddha (not bound). The nibaddha-prabandha is bound with different dhātus (music-parts) and other things—"धात्रीभ प्रवन्धावयवे- स्वर्गहाभिरङ्गः स्वर्गवरूद्धां रचितं तिच्चद्धामित्याभिधीयतेः।" The anibaddha-prabandha is known as ālapti—'आलिप्रस्तु तालाच् पनिवन्धहीन-त्वाद्गिवद्धामित्युच्यते।' Again baddha or nibaddha one is known by three categories, prabandha, vastu, and rūpaka—'बद्धस्य तिथः संझा भवन्ति।' Simhabhupāla made these categories explicit with illustrations.

Sārangadeva said that the pattern of prabandha is composed of four music-parts, udgrāha, melāpaka, dhruva and ābhoga. The prabandhas are also prossessed of two or three music-parts. The word dhruva is used as music-part (dhātu) and also as prabandha which is included in the sālaga-sūḍa category. The word dhruva connotes also the idea of permanent (nītyatvāt) and indispensable (aparityajya). The music-part dhruva combines or brings together two other music-parts, melāpaka and ābhoga. When the word dhruva is used as the third music-part (dhātu), it is used as an indispensable one (aparityakta), and when it signifies the majestic type of prabandha-gāna of the sālaga-sūḍa class, it connotes the idea of permanent and sacred song.

A prabandha is also possessed of six limbs (angas), svara, viruda, pada, tenaka, pāta and tāla. The word tenaka or tena is used in the sense of blessedness and auspiciousness, and this limb has been described as an eye. The limbs, pāta and viruda have been compared with the hands. The pāta is the letters (bolas) of the drumming, and viruda is the qualified one (guṇa). The svara means notes or tones like şadja, rşabha, etc. The word pada means music or gāna. The entire Gītagovinda is known as the pada-gāna.

The prabandha is further possessed of five jātis, and they are: medinī, nandinī, dīpanī, bhavānī, and tārāvalī. The above mentioned six limbs (angas) are known as medinī-jāti. The jāti with five limbs is known as nandinī, the jāti with four limbs is known as dipanī; the jāti with three limbs, is known as bhavānī, and the tārāvalī-jāti is known by its two limbs. The five jātis are also known as śruti, nīti, sena, kavitā and champū. The last ones are generally used in poetry, and Sinhabhupāla elaborately defined and explained them in his commentary.

Generally prabandha is divided into two, aniryukta and niryukta. The aniryukta one is said to be the song when it is not bound by

^{1. * * *} केषाञ्चन मते श्रुतिः। नीतिः सेना च कविता चम्पूरित्युदितास्तु ताः॥ —रत्नाकरः ४।२०-२१

chhanda, tāla, anga, dhātu, rasa and bhāsā etc., and when gāna is bound by these parts, it is known as niryukta. Aniryukta one may be known as ālāpa, and niryukta, as a song.

The brabandha is further divided into three classes, sūda, āli, and viprakīrna.3 (1) The sūda-prabandhas are elā, karana, dhenkī, vartanī, ihombadā, lambha, rāsaka, and ekatālī.4 (2) The āli-prabandhas are twentyfour in number, and they are varna, varnasvara, gadya, kaivāda, etc.⁵ (3) The viprakīrņa-prabandhas are thirtysix in number, and they are śrīranga, śrībilās, panchabhangī * * * mangalāchāra, mangala dhavala, etc. Sārangadeva elaborately described them in the Sangita-Ratnakara, methods of their rendering are also described. As for example, the elā-prabandhas are sung with three music-parts (dhātus), udgrāha, melāpaka, and dhruva. In these three parts, songs are repeated twice or thrice. The presiding deities of the padas are also mentioned, and they are padmālayā, patriņī, ranjani, etc. From these it is understood that though the comtemplative compositions (dhyāna-mantrams) and pictures of the ragas were definitely made in the 16th-17th century, yet the conceptions of the presiding deities (adhisthatri-devatas) of the songs were already current in the 12th-13th century in the Indian society. The gānas and the gītis were infused with vital energy (prāṇa), and they were surcharged with æsthetic sentiments (rasa) and moods (bhāva).

The elā-prabandhas are characterised by nāda, dhvani, akṣara, alamkāra, etc. Śārangadeva described them ('पलानां बहुवः सन्ति') in his Sangīta-Ratnākara in the ślokas IV. 41-132. Then he described the karana-prabandhas in the ślokas IV. 133-146, and

- 2. अनियु कश्च नियु कः प्रवन्धो दिविधो मतः।
 छन्दस्तालाद्यनियमादाद्यः स्यान्त्रियममात्परः॥
- रत्नाकरः ४।११ अ. पुनः प्रवन्धास्त्रिविधाः सूडाद्या आलिमंश्रयाः । विप्रकीर्णाश्च * * *।।

—रत्नाकरः ४।२२

- 4. रत्नाकरः ४।२३।
- 5. रत्नाकरः ४।२४।

the dhenki-prabandhas in the ślokas IV. 147. He did further define and describe sixteen kinds of dhruva-prabandha in detail in the ślokas IV. 316-379. Śārangadeva said that all the types of prabandha should be produced with ten qualities, so as to make them sweet, colourful and appealing, and these ten qualities are vyakta, pūrņa, prasanna, sukumāra, alamkrta, sama, surakta, ślakna, vikrsta, madhura.6 Then specific qualities are also found in the Nāradiśikṣā of the 1st century A.D. In this connection, Sarangadeva also mentioned ten kinds of defects (doṣāḥ).

It should be mentioned in this connection that the dhruvapada or dhrupad type of majestic and charming song evolved from the prabandha-gana and it evolved from the salaga-sudaprabandha. Pandit Visnunarāyana Bhātkhande quoted some definite characteristic (laksanas) of the dhruvapada, as described by Pandit Bhavabhatta in his Anupa-Sangita-Ratnakara, known as a new type of the Sangīta-Ratnākara, dedicated to the name of Rājā Anup Singh of Bikāner. Bhāvabhatta was employed the court of Anup Singh, the ruler of Bikaner, from 1674 to 1709 A.D. The characteristics of the dhruvapadas are:

"गीर्वानमध्यदेशीय भाषासाहित्यराजितम् * * ध्रूबपदं स्मृतम् ।"

The first historical reference of the modified or rectified dhruvapada-prabandha we get in the 15th century A.D., when Mahārājā Mān Singh Tomar ruled in Gwalior, but before it the sāstric type of the dhruva-prabandha, the fore-runner of the modified ones, was current from the beginning of the Christian era i.e. from 2nd century to 14th century A.D. In the 15th century A.D. Mahārājā Mān Singh called a conference and modified the old types of the dhruva-prabandha with the help of the then renowned and accomplished Ustads like Machhu, Bhānu, and others. The present form of dhruva-prabandha or dhrupad was innovated during the reign of Man Singh Tomar in the 15th century.

^{6.} व्यक्त' सुरक्त' एलध्नं च विकृष्ट' मधुरं तथा। दशते सुर्युणा नोते त्र * * * 11 -रत्नाकरः ४।३७३-३**०**४

Influence of Language upon Thought

Language is important, because it builds the structure of the sentence, and sentence build the structure of the text-part or sāhitya of prabandha, which is no other than the embodiment of thoughts. Professors C. K. Odgen and I. A. Richards beautifully discussed about influence of language or speech upon thought so as to explain that there is symbolic suggestions or ideas in both word and language which connect the thing we deserve and create some emotional attitude in the mind. Dr. Boas was of the opinion that 'all speech is intended to serve for the communication of ideas'. The ideas are remotely accessible to outside inquiries, and we need a theory which connects words with things through the ideas, if any, which they symbolize. We require analysis of the relations of words to ideas and of ideas to things. Prof. Richards said that "words mean nothing by themselves, although the belief that they did, was once equally universal. It is only when thinker makes use of them that they stand for anything, et, in one sense, have a meaning." Besides, between a thought and a symbol causal relations hold, as when we speak or write, the symbolism we employ, is caused partly by social and psychological factors—the purpose for which we are making the reference, the proposed effect of our symbols on other persons, and our own attitude.

In fact, the words stand for symbols or signs for certain ideas. Dr. K. C. Pandey said that 'in order that the words may serve their symbolic purpose, it is necessary that the ideas should be familiar to those, to whom the words in question are intended to serve as symbols'. The words have their meaning, and so importances of both word and meaning must be accepted. Besides, beauty of both is due to qualities (guṇas) and embellishments (alamkāra) of words and meanings.

There comes *dhvani* theory in connection with words and meanings. Ānandavardhana called *dhvani* as the soul of poetry. but Abhinavagupta considered *dhvani* as the source of inspiration. The Lakṣaṇāvādīns rejected *dhvani*, as they maintained

that dhvani is identical with lak ildes an ildea a. But the Dhvanivādīns criticised the Lak ildes an ildea vādīns, because they maintain that dhvani is a power of language and lak ildes an ildea a is indispensible, because they are essentially different from each other. Dhvani is again divided into four, vastu-dhvani, alamkāra-dhvani, bhāva-dhvani, and rasa-dhvani. (1) The vastu-dhvani is known as the suggestive power of word, the suggestive idea aroused by which, is a poetic embellishment; (3) The rasa-dhvani is that suggestive power which floods the mind with a host of ideas etc., and (4) The bhāva-dhvani is the subjective constituents of the æsthetic configuration, and the mental states are divided into two classes, the basic mental states and the transient emotions.

We know that word is a suggestive symbol of something. Now, what do we mean by a symbol? A symbol is a sign which points out a thing behind. Professors Odgen and Richards said that symbolism "is the study of the part played in human affairs by language and symbols of all kinds, and especially of their influence on thought. It singles out for special inquiry the ways in which symbols help us and hinder us in inflecting on things". In fact, there is an influence of language or word upon thought, as the function of language as an instrument for the promotion of purposes rather than as a means of symbolizing references is very important.

The words or properties of words work as instruments for the control of the objects from very primitive times. Language plays the role of a vehicle which transfers ideas to the speaker or writer, but the method of transference of ideas of language differed in different times among different nations. As for example, said Prof. Whittaker, language, in the Neo-Platonic view, "can only be made to express the nature

^{7.} Vide, Dr. K. C. Pandey: Indian Aesthetics (Baranasi, 1950), pp. 255-256.

pp. 255-256.

8. Vide also Prof. Richards: Principles of Library Criticism, and Hotopf: Language, Thought and Comprehension: A case-study of the writings of I. A. Richards.

of the soul by constraining it to purposes for which most men never even think of employing it"; moreover, "the soul cannot be described at all except by phrases which would be nonsensical if applied to body or its qualities, or to determinations of particular bodies." Prof. Richards suggested that the atmosphere of verbalism, in which most Indian philosophy developed, seems to have been more dense than that of the scholastics, or of the Greek dialecticians. "In this respect, the Mimāmsā-Nyāya controversy, the Yoga philosophy, the Vijnānavāda categories, the Prabhākara Mīmāmsakas are hardly less remarkable than the doctrine of the Sacred Word 'AUM' and verbal ecstasies of the sufi mystics, a part of whose technique was reviewed by Dr. Cone."9

A literature (sāhitya) is created out of the combination of words and sentences. But what are a word and a sentence? Prof. Richards said that a word is an articulate sound-symbol in its aspect of denoting something which is spoken about, and a sentence is an articulate sound-symbol in its aspects of embodying some volitional attitude of the speaker to the listener. Therefore, said Richard, the sentence-form literature is a compromise between symbolization and emotive factor. Language in its truest sense, is also a sign of symbol that conveys idea or ideas to the reader or readers so as to arouse emotion or emotive feeling for the appreciation of the content and purpose of literature (sāhitya). Sāhitya is, therefore, meaningful with its cherished ideas, surcharged with emotion

Method of conveying of Meaning

Everything is changeable being subject to evolution. Language conveys ideas which are meaningful, or which can

9. Vide, The Meaning of Meanings (London, 1959), p. 39.

In this connection we would like to suggest the readers to consult the books: (1) Max Muller's Lectures on Science of Language (1864); (2) William Dwight Whitney's Oriental and Linguistic Studies (New York, 1874); (3) The Importance of Language, edited by Max Black (Cornell University be said to be the discloser of truth. Language is like the mystic syllable, OUM or Omkara, which is the sign or symbol (vāchaka) of the Truth, the indeterminate Brahman-tasya vāchakah praņavah. But, from the viewpoint of Advaita Vedānta, though language is considered as the medium that points out or discloses the Truth, yet it cannot be said to be a perfect pointer or discloser, as it is unable to reach the Truth, being a category under the limits of time and space, and so Vedanta tells-avām-manaso'gocharam. Language has some limit, and through that limitation it speaks about the Truth or Substance which transcends the categories of time, space and causation. But yet language can be taken as a pointer or discloser of some idea or meaning. Prof. Dr. Bronislaw Malinowski represented by analogous diagrams some earlier stages of meaning. He said that there are mainly three stages of evolution of sentences, composed of words or languages which convey meanings: (1) At the first stage, when the utterance is a mere sound-reaction, expressive, significant and correlated with the situation, but not involving any act of thought, the triangle reduced to its base, which stands for a real connection—that between sound-reaction and situation, i.e. soundreaction is connected directly with situation. (2) In the second stage, active sound (semi-articulated or is correlated with referent. (3) In the third stage, we have to distinguish between the three fundamental uses of language, active, narrative, and ritual. "Meaning did not come to primitive men for contemplation of things, or analysis of occurrences, but in practical and active acquaintance with relevant situations. The real knowledge of a word comes through the practice of appropriately using it within a certain situation."

Now, every human tongue has a definite structure of its own. We have types of isolating, agglutinative, polysynthetic, incorporating and inflectional languages. In every one of them, the means of linguistic action and expression can be brought under certain rules, classified according to certain categories. This body of structural rules with their exceptions

and irregularities, the various classes into which the elements of the language can be ranged, is what we call 'the grammatical structure' of a language. In fact, language is regarded as 'the expression of thought' which is conveyed by means of speeches or speech-sounds. 10 Prof. Werner Heisenberg said: "Language is, as it were, a net spread out between people, a net in which our thoughts and knowledge are inextricably enmeshed."11

Now, what does signify the word 'Meaning'? Meaning, said Prof. Richards, is an intrinsic property, a unique unanalysable relation to other things, connotation of a word, an essence, a volition, emotion aroused by anything, etc. ing' is, therefore, a symbol some of whose elucidations must rest upon psychology, and the example of Beauty was chosen because that symbol, too, lies through less deeply in the same predictment. Professors Odgen and Richards forwarded a representative list of sixteen definitions, conveyed by the word 'Meaning', and these sixteen definitions were used by different philosophers and philologists12. Prof. Samuel Butler also discussed about 'Thought and Language'.

The Style of Composition of Prabandha

Yet one other aspect of the historical study of literature (and composition) of music may be indicated—the historical study of style. Generally by style in music we mean the specific 'method of rendering' of music according to some definite school or gharāṇā, but here, in composition, the method of composition (sāhitya or pāṭḥya) of gāna (prabandha-gāna) which is composed by the arrangement of pleasing and soothing

- 10. Vide, the Supplement I to The Meaning of Meanings by Professors Odgen and Richards. The above statements are quoted from the portion of the Supplement I, wrote by Prof. Malinowski (pp. 296-336).
- 11. Vide Physics and Beyond (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1971), p. 138.
- 12. Prof. Aldous Huxley elaborately dealt with the problem of 'Words and their Meanings'-Vide The Importance of Language, edited by

words, and so the sāhitya of the gāna or gīti (music) appears as graceful with literary and poetic value and beauty.

Now, what do we mean by a style (rīti)? In the Vedas, In Sanskrit, style is known as rīti or we find the word rīti. paddhati of composition. Paṇḍit Viśvanāth Kavirāj defined riti (style) as an arrangement of words, as a harmony of the Western music is an arrangement of pleasing musical sounds. This arrangement of words is helpful to manifest flavour (rasa) in literary, poetical and musical compositions, as the conformation of the body to the soul : 'पदसंघटना रीतिरङ्गसंस्थाविशेषवत् । उपकर्जी रसादीनाम्' (9.1).13 It should be remembered that flavour or emotional sentiment (rasa) is the soul of both music and poetry.14 Rīti or style is essential for the composition of sāhitya of the prabandha type of music like dhruvapada, kheyāl, etc. This rīti or style is known as both a means to structure or form and a specified school or gharāṇā of music. Paṇḍit Viśvanāth Kavirāj defined four types of rīti (style), and they are Vaidarbhī (originated from Vidharbha), Gaudī (originated from Gauda-Vanga), Pānchālī (originated from Pānchāl), and Lātikā (originated from Lātadeśa). 15 (I) The Vaidarbhī style (of pāthya or sāhitya) manifests sweetness. (2) The Gaudī is a grand style, composed of letters manifesting energy and abounding in compounds. (3) The Panchālikā contains compound of five or six words, and is sweet and melodious. Bhojarāja said in the Śrngāra-prakāša that the Pānchālikā-rīti is soft and sweet, and is characterised by force (ojas) and elegance (kānti). (4) The style, Lātikā, is an intermediate one between vaidarbhī and pānchālī. Bharata also mentioned and defined these styles in the Nātyašāstra, while dealing with the composition (pāṭḥya) of the dramatic play. Like Bharata and Viśvanāth Kavirāj, Vāmana, Daņḍīn and others also discussed about style or rīti.

^{13.} Vide, Sāhityadarpaņa, edited by Gurunāth Vidyānidhi, (Calcutta), p. 392.

^{14.} The theory of rasa has been dealt in this book separately. Vide, Ch. IX.

^{15.} Vide, Sāhityadarpaņa (Calcutta), IX. 2.

The styles (rītis) are again 'studied by certain rhetoricians as an ornament of composition vis-a-vis the gunas or poetic excellency. But by a majority of canonists, said Prof. Sastri, one is attempted to be studied usually by reference to the other, so that with them the study of rīti and guna goes hand in

He further said that the styles (rītis) may simply be defined as the mode of arranging words in a manner which tends to develop the sentiments and feelings (rasas and bhāvas) in a piece of composition. The style (rīti) thus aims at the adjustment of the sound to the sense and thereby creates a rhythm in both dramatic and musical compositions by means of symphonic

The Alamkarikas say that rīti or style is the soul of the poetic composition—'rītirātmā kāvyasya'. Rīti or style is a special type of literary or poetic composition—'visistā padarachanā rītih', so rīti or style helps to manifest the arrangement of the words a kāvya which is full of sentiments.

A style is also known as one of the forms. While discussing about the style-cum-form of poetry, Prof. A. C. Bradley said: "There is no such thing as mere form of poetry. All form is expression. Style may have indeed a certain æsthetic worth in partial abstraction from the particular matter it conveys, as in a well-built sentence you may take pleasure in the build almost apart from the meaning."18 He admitted that styles are the means of arousing the æsthetic sentiment.

Prof. Hollingworth discussed style in four beautiful chapters in his A Primer of Literary Criticism. He said that style is the body to which thought is the soul, and through which it expresses itself. The elements of style (rīti) are known as 'choice of ideas', and 'expression of idea'. In fact, idea or thought is the matrix or norm of constructing the style, and

^{16.} Cf. Prof. S. N. Śāstrī: The Laws and Practice of Sanskrit Drama (Varanasi, 1961), p. 33.

^{17.} Ibid, pp. 338-339.

^{18.} Vide, Oxford Lectures on Poetry (London, 1962), p. 18.

it inspires to construct the building of the style. The most primitive style in the world is the simple-sentence style. But style is changeable and at different times the style takes different forms. As for example, Shelley's style is as abstract and etherial as Byron's is concrete and worldly. Tennyson had many styles, though the new scientific detailed style was favourite to him. Wordsworth's style was different from that of Milton. In Indian musical compositions, we find that the style of Svāmī Haridās differed from that of Tānsen, and style of Tānsen differed from that of Baiju-Bāorā, style of Nawal Kishore differerd from that of Ānandakishore, and so on. But, in the field of appreciation, those varieties are taken as a whole and are appreciated by their own grace and beauty.

What do we mean by an appreciation? Appreciation is not a mere mechanical process, but appreciation of any work of art 'is an estimation of its qualities and defects; but it is also a measure of the qualities and defects of the critic.' Prof. Hollingworth said, 'for the melody of a passage, for the colour and splendour of the words, for sublimity of thought, for the soul of the work, in short, you must train your own ear and eye, and mind and soul, till in some degree they approach his.'

We have already said that style may be a kind of literary or poetic form. But, what do we mean by a form of music? The form of music may be considered in two different aspects, the texture of music from moment to moment, and the shape of the musical design as a whole. But texture is generally considered as different from form, though historically the texture of music became definitely organised long before the shape could be determined by any but external or mechanical conceptions. It is a fact that texture and form are used sometimes in one and the same sense, as form is generally bound up with texture. The form of the prabandha

^{19.} Vide, The Problem of Style (Oxford University Library, London, 1967), pp. 13-14.

of Indian music is composed of different parts or components, and we have already discussed it before. Now the *prabandhas* have some forms of their own, which are interwoven with different forms of materials of music, and those forms are surcharged with different æsthetic sentiments and feelings.

Regarding style, its central problem and psychology, Prof. J. Middleton Murry discussed elaborately. He said that 'a true style' is a completely adequate expression in language of a writer's mode of feeling. "From this angle", said he, "idiosyncrasy appears to be essential to style, and, therefore, at first sight wholly good. But, as a matter of fact, the goodness of the idiosyncrasy of style will depend upon whether it is the expression of genuine individual feeling or not. It is for the reader, who is the critic in embryo, to decide upon this". Really style 'consists in adding to a given thought all the thought ought to produce'. Mr. Flaubert said that deeper style lies beneath the words themselves, 'the soul, which gives the words their being'.

What is the source of style? Prof. Murry said that the source of style is to be found in a strong and decisive original emotion we can get a closer grasp of the intention that lies under the use of the word as meaning a writer's personal idiosyncrasy. It is true that there lies a difference between realistic style and romantic style or imaginative writing. "The great realistic writer is of the same nature and pursues the same activity as the great romantic writer. The difference is that the realist chooses his plot from the life of everyday, and the romantic from an imagined continuation of life into the past (which is history) or into a purely ideal world.²⁰

What is the central problem of style? Prof. Murry said that "I will say that style is a quality of language which communicates precisely emotions or thoughts, or a system of emotions or thoughts, peculiar to the author. Where thought

^{20.} Vide, The Problem of Style (Oxford University Library, London, 1967), pp. 28-29.

predominates, there the expression will be in prose; where emotion predominate, the expression will be indifferently in prose or poetry, except that in the case of overwhelming immediate personal emotion the tendency is to find expression in poetry. Style is perfect when communication of the thought or emotion is exactly accomplied, its position in the scale of absolute greatness, however, will depend upon the comprehensiveness of the system of emotions and thoughts to which the reference is perceptible."21 Really a great writer, or a composer, must have a vast of perceptions of quality upon which to draw at will. Besides, all the great style is derived not from sensuous perceptions but from emotional contemplation. But sensuous perceptions, said Prof. Murry, are necessary for the complete expression of this contemplative experience. The great writer or composer has to carry the articulation of the material world into the world of the spirit, he has to define the indefinable. While discussing the central problem of style, Prof. Murry said: "Every art has its peculiar qualities, an artist in language must do everything in his power to realize the unique possibilities of the medium. Music is a superb and self-sufficient art; its unique possibilities are utterly beyond the range of spoken language. The writer, who allows himself to be distracted by the musical possibilities of language, is like the dog who dropped the bone for the watery shadow."22 So, Prof. Murry was of the opinion that though problem of style, word, or language, should be discussed for good and great creative compsition and art, yet definitioncum-realization of the indefinable Truth that transcends the ranges of sensuous perceptions and emotional contemplation, should be considered as the primary one.23

^{21.} Vide, The Problem of Style (Oxford University Library, London, 1967), p. 65.

^{23.} Vide, in this connection, the pages 137-138 of The Philosophy of Rhetoric by Prof. I. A. Richards (published by Oxford University Press, New York, 1965).

Literature and Prabandha

Language infuses life and energy to literature. Generally we consider literature of the gānas or gītis as word or kathā and melody as tune or sura, and the combination of the two elements gives birth to music. In Vedic time, the restanzas were known as the text-parts (kathā) and the Vedic tones, prathama, etc. were known as tune (sura). As a bird is possessed of two wings and without them he cannot soar in the sky, so music is not complete with the two wings of word (kathā) and tune (sura).

Literature is a common thing which can be attached or added to all subjects, music, poetry, drama, art, architecture, painting, etc. "Thus the various forms of literary expression", said Prof. Hudson, "fall into their places as natural results of common human impulses working themselves out under the conditions of arts; and when we remember the great principle that a piece of literature appeals to us only when it calls into activity in us the same powers of sympathy and imagination as went to its making, the interest which such forms have for us is also explained."

It is true that in the first place, of course, the elements of literature are furnished life itself, which constitute the raw material of any piece of literature—poem, drama, music, dance, novel, etc. Prof. Hudson said that these may be roughly tabulated under four heads: (1) "First, there is an intellectual element—the thought which the writer brings to bear upon his subject, and which he expresses in his work. (2) Secondly, there is the emotional element—the feeling (of whatever kind) which his subject arouses in him, and which in turn he desires to stimulate in us. (3) Thirdly, there is the element of imagination (including its lighter form which we call fancy), which is really the faculty of strong and intense vision, and by the exercise of which he quickens a similar power of vision in ourselves. These elements combine to furnish the substance as well as the life of literature. The given matter has to be moulded and fashioned in accordance with the principles of order,

sympathy, beauty, effectiveness; and thus we have a fourth element in literature—the technical element, or the element of composition and style."24

Language and Symbol

Regarding life-symbols Mrs. Susanne K. Langer said that language is born from the profoundly symbolic character of the human mind. Images have all the characteristics of symbols, and they are, therefore, our readiest instruments for abstracting concepts from the tumbling stream of actual impressions. Besides, the emotional reaction is evoked by the idea embodied in the object, and the objects that could function as stream-symbols, have a mysterious significance for the waking mind too, and are viewed with emotion, even though they have never served a practical purpose for good or for evil.²⁵

Mrs. Langer further said that there is a strong tendency day to treat art as a significant phenomenon rather than as a pleasurable experience, a gratification of the senses. "This is probably due to the free use of dissonance and so called 'ugliness' by our leading artists in all fields-in literature, music, and the plastic arts." Music, on the other hand, is pre-eminently non-representative even in its classical production, its highest attainments. "It exhibits pure form not as an embellishment, but as its very essence; we can take it in its flowers—for instance, German music from Bach to Beethoven and have practically nothing but tonal structures before us; no scene, no object, no fact..... This is not to say that music is the highest, the most expressive, or the most universal art. Sound is the easiest medium to use in a purely artistic way, but to work in the safest medium is not at all the same thing as to achieve the highest aim."26

^{24.} Vide, An Introduction to the Study of Literature (London, 1930), pp. 15-16.

^{25.} Vide, Philosophy in a New Key (New York, 1951), pp. 131-132.

^{26.} Ibid, p. 178.

Mrs. Langer was of the opinion that the 'work of art' is an expressive form created for our perception through sense or imagination. She said that "if music has any significance, it is semantic, not symptomatic. Its 'meaning' is evidently not that of a stimulus to evoke emotions, nor that of a signal to announce them, if it has an emotional content, it 'has' it in the same sense that language 'has' its conceptual content—symbolically. Music is not the cause or the cure of feelings, but their logical expressions, though even in this capacity it has its special ways of functioning, that make it incommensurable with language, and even with presentational symbols like images, gestures, and rites." 27

Feeling and Form

But Dr. Louis Arnand Reid honestly criticised some theories-cum-views of Mrs. Langer in his recent book, Meaning in the Arts (1969) especially in the Chapter III, which deals with 'Susanne Langer, and Beyond'. In the Chapter XI: 'Meaning, Feeling, Value, Symbolism and the Arts' (pp. 191-208), Dr. Reid successfully dealt with the problems of 'Sources of Meaning in the Arts', 'Art, Feeling and Value', and 'Symbols: Conceptual Thinking and Art', differing from some views and arguments forwarded by Mrs. Langer in her books, Philosophy in a New Key and Feeling and Form. Dr. Reid said that Mrs. Langer developed her own views of art as expression. "The work of art", she believed, "is an expressive form created for our perception through sense or imagination, and what it expresses in human feeling. The word 'feeling' must be taken here in its broadest sense, meaning everything that can be felt, from physical sensation, pain and comfort, excitement and repose, to the most complex emotions, intellectual tensions, or the steady feeling tones of a conscious human life". Again, works of art are 'images of the forms of feeling... The art symbol sets forth in symbolic projection how vital and

^{27.} Vide, Philosophy in a New Key, p. 185.
Vide also Feeling and Form (Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London).

emotional and intellectual tensions appear, i.e. how they feel'.28

Dr. Reid said that it is no doubt true that a work of art is an expressive form, but the word 'form' needs consideration. It has many meanings29, all legitimate in different circumstances. There are set forms, like the sonnet form in poetry or the sonata in music; there is form which means simply shape, or something like it. But more important is the abstract sense of form, meaning 'structure, articulation, a whole resulting from the relation of mutually dependent factors, or more precisely, the way that whole is put together'. It is this sense, sometimes called 'logical form', which is involved in Mrs. Langer's idea of the expression that characterise art."30

Art is not merely an expression of private personal feeling, but it is an expression of the life of feeling. Dr. Reid said that "expression is an expression in the logical sense, presenting the fabric of sensibility, emotion, and the strains of more concerted cerebration for our impersonal cognition—this is, in abstracto." And so, as Mrs. Langer said, that work of art is a symbol, is not wholly correct, and so "in no other essential way a work of art is a symbol".31 And not only that, but also, said Dr. Reid, "the whole idea of art as the symbolic projection of the 'life' or 'form' of feeling, a 'conception presented to our understanding' of 'what life feels like'-is shot through and through with difficulties."32

The meaning of the word 'feeling' can be indicated rather than defined, and feeling, according to Mrs. Langer, is 'what

^{28.} Vide, Dr. L. A. Reid: Meaning in the Arts (London, 1969), p. 57.

^{29.} The word 'form' conveys different meanings or ideas. In philosophy, in Kant's interpretation, 'form' is simply the way in which sensations can be ordered and related and, in that sense, space and time are forms. In music, it is known as texture or shape.

^{30.} Vide, Meaning in the Arts, pp. 57-58.

^{31.} Ibid, p. 58.

Ibid. 32.

is felt'. But feeling, said Dr. Reid, "is, in its primary sense, a subjective mood, referring to immediate experience of our own essentially private state. But although it is true, by itself it gives an entirely artificial picture of the cognitive function and range of feeling."33

It is sometimes believed that the artist makes an image of feeling, and, therefore, art is the form of feeling. But that is not wholly correct, because, said Dr. Reid, if all feelings or complexes of feeling are concrete and particular, then how can their 'forms' be other than concrete and particular too. So strictly speaking, the forms of the feelings of life-situations cannot be expressed or projected into art-situations. Therefore 'expression' and 'projection' seem to be the wrong words and the wrong ideas for formulating the essential nature of art.³⁴ Projection, of course, does not happen, and it should be remembered, said Dr. Reid, that 'art is not duplication in a projection, but a new created image embodied in a medium, derived perhaps from life experience but not photographing it." The words and sentences have meaning, but 'have meaning', said Dr. Reid, "is quite different in two cases. The

^{33.} While discussing on 'Revelation and the Aesthetic' (Chapter XIV), Dr. Reid interpreted 'feeling' in a different way. There he said: "I would certainly not wish to deny deliverances of feeling as such. I have argued that feeling and some forms of cognition are indivisible. Feeling may have a very rich and full content which is never adequately stated in aware through ineffable feeling of something which may be of utmost importance, which carries 'its own assurance'. I do not deny either that are not the ways of discursive reasoning or ordinary empirical tests. ... The 'feeling' is a hint, perhaps a very important one, but what the experience is 'felt' to signify must inevitably depend upon the theoretical structure of one's beliefs, worked out (inter alia) in open philosophical debate."—Vide, Meaning in the Arts, p. 254.

^{34.} Vide the detailed discussion on the subject in Dr. Reid's Meaning in the Arts (London, 1969), p. 61

meaning, expressible in any language, of words and sentences, is distinct and even separable......from particular words and sentences."

Language and Literature

Prof. Hudson discussed about literature, and said that literature is fundamentally an expression of life, conveyed through the medium of language. Language gives forms and force to literature, and so literature bears in its bosom great impulses which design it and drive it towards same practical purposes. He enumerated four practical purposes of literature, and they are: (1) Our desire for self-expression; (2) Our interest in people and their doings; (3) Our interest in the world of reality in which we live, and in the world of imagination which we conjure into existence; and (4) Our love of form as form. Again, said Prof. Hudson, those practical purposes of literature can be divided into five large groups: (1) The personal experiences of the individual as individual—the things which make up the sum total of his private life, outer and inner; (2) the experiences of man as man.....; (3) the relations of the individual into his fellows, or the entire social world, with all its activities and problems; (4) the external world of nature, and our relations with this; (5) man's own efforts to create and express under the various forms of literature and art. He further said: "Looking at literature (sāhitya) in the light of the above analysis, and considering only the character of subjects, we may distinguish five classes of production: the literature of purely personal experience; of the common life of man as man; of the social world under all its different aspects; the literature which treats of nature; and the literature which treats of literature and art". Prof. Hudson was of the opinion that the history of any nation's literature is the record of the unfolding of the nation's genius and character under one of its most important forms of expression. Besides, literature of the nation prove the mental and moral characteristics, as well as the changing fortunes, the ebb and flow of the forces which fed their emotional energies and shaped their intellectual and spiritual life.³⁵

Language of Sāhitya of Prabandha

The prabandhas are more meaningful and significant when they fitted with text-parts or sāhityas composed of languages. Bharata mentioned about seven kinds of language, Māgadhi, Avantī, Prāchya, Saurasenī, Ardha-māgadhī, Vahlika, and Dākṣiṇātya, for using them in the composition of the text-parts or sāhitya of the drama in the Nātyaśāstra. He also said about the uses of basic languages, Sanskrit, Prākṛt, Atibhāṣā, Āryabhāṣā and jātibhāṣā, as the best mediums for the composition of the text-parts (sāhityas). Bharata said in the Nātvāśāstra:

अत ऊर्धं प्रबक्ष्यामि देशभाषाविकल्पनम् । भाषा चतुर्विधा इ या देशरूपप्रयोगतः । संस्कृतं प्राकृतश्चैव यत्र पाठ्यं प्रयुज्यते । अतिभाषार्यभाषा च जातिभाषा तथैव च ॥

Profs. Grierson, Pischel, Alsdorf, Keith, Jacobi, Block, Woolner, Bhandarkar, Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, and others discussed about origin and development of different languages of India and other foreign languages. There are many differences of opinion regarding them, but yet they traced a chronological history of different dialects. Prof. Max Muller also linguistic. 36 problem and philosophy of language and

Prof. P. C. Mazumdar said that the language of the Vedas was not exactly similar to Sanskrit language of the classical period. Among the Sanskrit Ālamkārikas, Bhāmaha (600 B.C.) was of the opinion that three languages, Sanskrit, Prākrt, and Apabhramśa were used throughout India in ancient time. Dandin (6th century A.D.) said that languages or vernaculars

^{35.} Vide, An Introduction to the Study of Literature (London, 1930), p. 41.

^{36.} Vide, The Science of Thought (London, 1887).

which were current among the Ābhiras, were Apabhramsa. In the bronze inscription of Dhārāsen, we find the mention of the languages, Sanskrit, Prākṛt, and Apabhramsa. The Ālamkārikas like Rudrat (9th century), Rājasekhara, Dhananjaya (10th century), Namisādhu (11th century), Vāgbhat (12th century) and others recognised Apabhramsa as the classical one, and it was also recognised as the chaste one by the learned men of the then society.

In the 17th century A.D., Mārkandeya of Orissā was of the opinion that the different divisions in Prākṛt language, included in the category of Upabhāṣā were: (1) Bhāṣā (Mahārāṣtrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Prāchya and Avantī); (2) Vibhāṣā (Sākarī, Chāṇḍalī, Sāvarī, Ābhirikā, Takkī); (3) Apabhramśa (Nāgara, Brāchao, and Upanāgara); and (4) Paiśāchī (Kekya, Saurasenī and Pāñchāla). Besides them, different ancient laukika or folk languages are mentioned in the dictionaries, included in dhātvādeśa and deśī-śabda. There were many foreign languages, which were intermixed with the desibhāṣā. According to Prof. Jacobi, the deśibhāṣā was known as a mixed language (miśra-bhāṣā), the origin of which can be traced to chaste Sanskrit, or laukika Sanskrit, though laukika Sanskrit was recognised as the non-Sanskrit vernacular by most of the grammarians of Prākṛt language. Prof. Jacobi said that deśabhāṣā or deśībhāṣā was known as the universal vernacular in the whole of India, as it was practised as the spoken language (kathya-bhāṣā) by majority of the people.37

Sanskrit and afterwards Prākṛt were included in the category of speaking (kathya) language or jātibhāṣā and were followed by all castes. Regarding evolution of language, Rev. S. H. Kellogg wrote: "When, long before the Christian era, the Aryan, Sanskrit-speaking people, entered, what is now

^{37. (}a) Vide, Prof. P. C. Mazumder: Sanskrit and Prākṛt-Bhāṣār Kramavikāśa (published by the Sārasvat Library, 1971), pp. 348-357.

⁽b) Vide also ODBL (2nd new edition) by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji. Vide also Sir R. G. Bhandarkar: Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and the Derived Languages (Bombay, 1914).

called Hindusthan, they found it inhabited by people of another race and another tongue. This aboriginal race, as the tide of Aryan invasion rolled on eastward, retreated before it, falling away, some into the mountains on the north, more into the jungles and hills of Central and Southern India, where, under various names, preserving still their ancient dialects, and superstitious demon-worship, they are found today. Many, however, doubtless remained in their ancient homes, where the stream of Aryan immigration and Aryan speech soon swept over them, and they became the servants of the invading race. Although the aboriginal speech must thus soon have disappeared for the most part from Northern and Western India, it is scarcely conceivable that it should not, before its disappearance from the scene, have influenced, to some extent, the language of the Aryan invaders. To this external, Turanian influence, we shall probably not err in attributing many peculiarities of those ancient Indian dialects known as Prākṛt, 'common, vulgar', which for centuries coexisted with the Sanskrit, much as, in ancient Italy, the various provincial dialects co-existed with the Latin of the court and

These Prākṛt dialects, in the earliest period of which we can speak, appear to have existed under two leading types, the intermediate dialect called Ardha-Māgadhī in the east, with an between them. These two or three, at that early time—in the from east to west. The Mahārāṣtrī, mentioned also by the early Prākṛt grammarians, varied little from the Śaurasenī; language of prose. Besides these forms of the Prākṛt which assumed a literary character, arose forms of speech still more native grammarians Apabhramśa, 'debased', 'incorrect', lit., thing as the Aprabhramśa of another; it was Saurasenī-

Apabhramsa in the west, and Māgadhī-Apabhramsa in the east, and so on. Out of these, Prākṛt dialects, the literary Saurasenī and Māgadhī and the various Apabhramsa colloquial variations of these, arose the modern Aryan languages of India. Their relation to Sanskrit is thus closely similar to that of the modern Romance languages of Europe to the classic Latin. In number they are commonly reckoned seven, and—proceeding from the west eastward—they are known as Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi, Oriya and Bengali. 38

Sāhitya, composed in Sanskrit, was applied for the Nāyaka (Hero) characters like dhīroddhata, dhīralalita, dhīrodātta and dhiraprāšānta.³⁹ Prof. S. N. Šāstrī also mentioned that the characters, dhīrodātta, dhīroddhata, dhīraśānta and dhīralalita, were used in Sanskrit in general, otherwise Prākṛt language were used in them. However, Sanskrit language was the common dialect in ancient India. Even, in the Sangīta-Ratnākara (13th century), the text-parts of the grāmarāgas and quasiclassical gītis like māgadhī, ardha-māgadhī, pṛthulā, and sambhāvitā as well as those of the brahmagītis and kapālagītis were composed in Sanskrit language, and their themes were the Śivastuti, i.e. their sāhityas were in praise of Śiva.

38. Vide, (a) A Grammar of the Hindi Language (London, 1893), pp. 35-36. Besides, Rev. Kellogg discussed about origin and development of different Indian and other languages in his book, A Grammar of the Hindi Language.

- (b) Vide, the detailed historical discussions on origin and development of languages of India, especially the languages, Bengali, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Ardha-Māgadhī, Avahatta, Apabhramśa, Bhojpuriyā, Brajabuli, Brajabhākhā of Mathurā and Vṛndāvana and its adjacent places, and other chaste and colloquial dialects of India. Cf. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji; The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, (Second edition, 1970 (published by Messrs George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London), pp. 1-223.
 - (c) Vide F. Max Muller: The Science of Thought (London, 1887).
 - 39. धीरोद्धते धीरललिते धीरोदात्ते तथैन च । धीरप्रशान्ते च तथा पाठ्यं योज्यं तु संस्कृतम् ॥ —नाट्यशास्त्र (काशी सं), पृः २१६

Māhāraj Bhojadeva of Dhār (1010-1055 A.D.) was contemporary to Bhimadeva of Chālukya-Gurjara (1022-1063 A.D.). Bhojadeva also defined and explained jāti, rīti, vṛtti, bhāṣā, sāhitya, dhvani, vyanjana etc. in his book, Sarasvatikanthābharanam. Regarding jāti, he said : 'तत्र संस्कृतिमत्यादि भरितो जातिरिष्यते'। In the glossary, Ramasingh said: 'संस्कृतिमिति भावप्रधानो निर्देशः'। In ancient times, Prākṛt was used by the side of Sanskrit. Bhojadeva said,

देवाद्यां संस्कृतं प्राहुः प्राकृतं किन्नारादयः। पेशाचाद्यं विशाचाद्या मागधं होनजातयः ॥

So we find that besides Sanskrit and Prākṛt, Sauraseni, Māgadhī, Paiśāchī etc. languages were used in the society. These languages were divided into six jātis, śuddha, sādhāraņī, miśrā, samkīrņā, nānyagāminī, and apabhrastā. Sanskrit was considered as the śuddhā (pure) jāti. Besides, Prākṛt and other languages were included in the category of śuddhā-jāti.

Bhojadeva said that kāvyas (composition) were known as padya, gadya, and miśra. The miśra ones were known as padya and gadya mixed together. Those compositions were in slow (vilambita), medium (madhya) and rapid (druta) tempi. Besides, tempi were used as intermixture of slow, medium and rapid.

Regarding rīti or style, Bhojadeva said,

वैदर्भादिकृतः पन्थाः काव्ये मार्ग इति स्मृतः। रीङ गताविति धातोः सा व्युतपत्त्या रीतिः रुच्यते ॥

Rāmasingh said in the glossary : 'गुणबत्पद्रचना रोति:'। Rītis were know as mārga or method, and they were vaidarbhī, pānchālī, gaudī, avantikā, lātiyā, and māgadhī. We have mentioned before that those six ritis or styles were named after different countries and regions. Bhojadeva mentioned about there special, significances.

Now, what is a vrtti ? Vrtti is : "वृत्तिवर्तनं रसाविषयोः व्यापारः काव्यस्य रसप्रवणत्यात'' i.e. vṛtti helps the emotional sentiments to manifest. There are six kinds of vrtti:

> या विकासेहथ विक्षेपे संकोचे विस्तरे तथा। चेतसो वर्तियत्री सात सा वृत्तिः साविषङ विधा ।।

कैशिक्यारभटी चैंब भारती सात्वती परा। मध्यमारभटी चैंब तथा मध्यमकेशिकी ॥

That is, six vṛttis are : kaišīki, ārabhatī, bhāratī, sātvatī, madymārabhati, and madhyamā-kaišīki.

Bhojadeva also defined prakaraṇa, prabandha, kāku, svara, pada, etc. Now what is a Kāku? In the glossary, Rāmasingh said: 'भिन्नकण्डस्निर्भारें: काकुरित्यभिधीयते। सा द्विधा, विधिकाकुः. निषेधकाकुश्च।'' In the Saṅgīta-Ratnākara, different kinds of kāku are defined. 40 For the compositions or text-parts (sāhitya) of the prabandhagītis, the above-mentioned materials and principles were observed. Bhojadeva described different kinds of emotional sentiment and mood (rasa and bhāva) in the fifth chapter of the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇaṃ, so as to make pāṭḥya or sāhitya (composition of the prabandha) living and more forceful. Besides, he gave the definitions of nāyakas and nāyikās, who were the presiding deities of different emotional sentiments, in the fifth chapter of this book, SK.

Most of the compositions of the prabandha-gitis were composed in the languages current in the then societies. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji is of the opinion that "Saurasenī was the polite language of the day when people employed a vernacular, and in the Apabhramsa period, eastern poets employed the Sauraseni-Apabhramsa to the exclusion of their local patois. The modern representations of Māgadhī-Apabhramśa were Bengali, Assamese, Oriyā, Māgadhī, Maithilī and Bhojpuriā. Bhojpuriā territory was always been under the influence of the West, and Western forms of speech, like Braja-bhākhā, and Awadhi, and literary Hindustānī (Hindi and Urdu) in later times, had been cultivated by poets and others who spoke Bhojpuriā at home". Baiju-bāorā, Svāmī Haridāsa, Tānsen and later musician-cum-composers composed dohās and gānas in Hindi, Kāiti (colloquial Hindi), Braja-bhākhā, Urdu, and other regional languages. When Svāmī Kṛṣṇadāsa, Haridāsa

^{40.} Vide, Sarasvatīkanthābharaņam (published from the Nirnaya-Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1934), pp. 140-217.

and other Vaiṣṇava savants lived in Vṛndāvana, Braja-bhākhā (and not Brajabuli) was current round about Mathurā, Vṛndāvana and their adjacent places. Brajabuli was the fairest and sweetest language of the Indian lyric poetry of Padāvalī-kirtana. Baḍu Chaṇḍidās, Vidyāpati Ṭḥākur and other Vaiṣṇava Mahājanas. Dr. Sukumar Sen said that Brajabuli language evolved in the Royal Court of Truhut-Moraṅga in Nepāl, and it was nourished by Śaṅkaradeva and his disciple Mādhavadās of Assam, and then it entered into the Greater Bengal, in Gauḍa-Vaṅga and other places of Bengal.⁴¹

Let us quote some specimens of the text-parts like dohā, pada, and gāna, composed in the early 18th century. Mr. F. S. Growse wrote in the Mathurā: A District Memoir, published in 1883 (the 3rd edition, revised), and there he wrote: "The Hindu poem, the Chaurāśī-Pada, is much more popular, and most of the Gosāin know at least some of its stanzas by heart. There is a commentary upon it by Lok-nāth, dated by Rasik Lāl, written in Sambat 1734." The padas were set to tune. The Śrī-Hitaharivamśa-krta-vānī said:

। राग विभास ।। जोइ जोइ प्यारी करे मोइ मोइ भारे भावे मोहि जोइ सोइ सोइ करें प्यारे।

In the rāga-vibhās, there are six padas or songs, and the seventh pada or song begins with rāga-vilābala:

आजु निकुज्जगञ्ज में खेलत नवलिकशोर नवीन किशोरी। अति अनुपम अनुराग परस्पर सुनि अभृत भृतल पर जोरी।।

जै श्रीहितहरिवंश करत कर्थुनन प्रणय कोप मालवालि तोशी। It is consisted of six padas or songs

Svāmī Haridāsa was known as Gosāin in the Vṛndāvana-dhām. Nabhajī wrote in the Bhaktamālā about Haridāsa:

41. It has been discussed in the chapter of the Padāvalī-kīrtana of Bengal in this book.

आशाधीर उद्योत कर रसिक छाप हरिदासकी। जुगलनामसों नैम जपत नित कुञ्जविहारी।।

Priyadāsa also wrote a gloss on their pada; 'श्रीस्वामी हरिदास रसराशि को': etc. Growse mentioned the date of birth of Svāmī Haridāsa: "who on the 8th of the dark fortnight of the month of Bhādon in the Sambat year 1441 gave birth to Haridāsa.⁴² * * He (Haridāsa) flourished at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century A.D., in the reigns of the Emperors Akbar and Jāhāṅgīr."⁴³

Mr. Growse wrote that each of the Mahants...., "and each composed some devotional poems, which are known as sakhis, chaubolas, or padas. The most voluminous writer is Bihārini Das, whose padas occupy 684 pages." Those padas were the songs or prabandha-gītis set to different classical rāgas. And from these evidences it can be concluded without a shade of doubt that the noted Gosāins and Mahantas and Pūjāris of the then Vṛndāvana were well-versed in classical dhruvapada songs, which were purely the prabandhas or prabandha-gītis.

Mr. Growse also quoted some songs from the Sādhārana-siddhānta, composed by Svāmī Haridāsa. The first pada or song is in rāga-vibhās:

जोहो जौही तुम रायतहो त्यौं हो त्यौं हो रहियतहै हो हिर । उर तौ अचरचे पाय अरौ सुतौ कौन के पेंड़ भरि॥

श्रीहरिदास के स्वामी श्यामकुञ्जविहारी पिजरा के जनावर ली' तरफराय रही उड़िवेकी' वितोक करि ॥१

42. Vide Growse: Mathurā: A District Memoirs (1883), p. 219.

^{43.} Ibid., p. 221. Cf. S. Prajñānānanda: Historical Study of Indian Music, (Calcutta).

श्रीहरिदास के स्वामी श्यामकुञ्जविहारी हिन देपत रही विचित्र मुप ॥३

There are the padas or songs in the rāgas, vilābala, kalyāņa, varārī, and kānhori (kānāḍā). In all, twenty padas (songs) were given Sādhārana-siddhānta.44 Now, the padas, or the prabandhagitis, composed in 17th to early 19th century A.D., were possessed of literary grace and poetic value. They were possessed of religious and spiritual characters and used to evoke the sentiments of calmness, peace, and delight. They were mostly composed in praise of the gods and the goddesses, different divine Incarnations (Avatāras), and other Divinities. As for example, we find:

- (A) The composition of Tansen: लम्बोदर गजानन गिरिजासत गणेश. एक रदन प्रसन्न बदन अरूण भेष । नर-नारी गुणा गन्धर्व किन्नर यक्ष तुम्बरु मिलि, ब्रह्मा बिष्ण सारत पूजत महेश। Etc.
- (B) The composition of Tanaraja: शश्धर तिलक-भाल गंगा-जटा-व्याल. कर धर त्रिशुल रुद्राक्ष राजे। Etc.
 - (C) The composition of Baiju-Bāorā: चन्द्रभाल शोषगंगा गौरोअर्थङ.
 - ललाट भव्म रुण्डमाला, कर पिणाक रेया। Etc. The composition of Dhīrāja:

नरहर नारायण नरोत्तम परब्रह्म पुरुषोत्तम । परमेश्वर अस्विल निरञ्जन अवगत अविनाशी ।। Etc. The composition which describe the aspect of rainy season:

प्रवल दल मेघ भुकभुमया भूमपर उमड घनघोर भाड़ि इन्द्रलायो। वरपत सुपलधार होत पहर चार।

44, Vide Mathurā: A District Memoir (1883), pp. 223-227.

It has been composed by Tansen.

सब बनमें कैसे सोहे ऋतुराज दिन आइ.....।

It is the composition of Sadāranga.

Some of the compositions of the *dhruvapada* were written in praise of the Kings or the Rulers, which were not possessed of poetic value and dignity. As for example, Tansen himself composed a *dhruvapada* in praise of his previous patron, Rāmachandra:

ए राजाराम निरञ्जन हिन्दुपति सुन्ततान कियो करतार, सकल सृष्टि भरण-पोषण । otc.

Tānsen wrote about the Emperor Akbar : ए आयो आयो मेरे गृह छत्रपति,

अकबर, मन भयो करम जगायो ।

* * * *

तानमेन करे यह यहाँ नगानि सरस्य

तानसेन कहे यह शुनो नरपति अकवर, जीवन जनम सुफल कर पायो।

These compositions may be regarded as the secondhand ones.

Rabindranath Tagore composed many dhruvapaba-prabandhas in Bengali on the pattern of the dhruvapadas, composed in Hindusthāni language. They are excellent for their poetic graces and values. Rabindranath really proved that the sāhityas, not only of the dhruvapada but also of all kinds of song, should be possessed of literary grace and poetic beauty, and if the sāhityas of the songs are devoid of poetic value, they should not be ranked in the class of sāhitya.

Regarding the classes and characteristics of the gānas, Pārśvadeva said that the gānas and the gītis are numerous according to the taste of the people—'तस्य गानस्य जनानां रुचिविशेषण बहुवोभेषः उकाः'। These were quoted by Simhabhupāla, while commenting on the ślokas 1-18 of the prabandha chapter of the Sangīta-Ratnākara. Pārśvadeva said,

क्रियाकारकसंयुक्त' सन्धिदोषविवर्जितम् । व्यक्तस्त्रसमायुक्त' व्यक्त' पण्डितसंमतम् ॥ प्रे मोद्दोप्तपद्मायं शृंङ्वाररसभृषितम् । करुणाकाकुसंयुक्तं करुणं विरिष्टिपयम् ।। गृद्धार्थः परमार्थेश्च संसारसुखमुखकैः । पदैनियोजितं गीतं शुद्धपञ्चमनिर्मितम् ।। विवाहद्युत्सवे गेयं मंगलं महिलाप्रियम् । देवतास्तुतिसंयुक्तं ततप्रभावप्रवोधकम् ।।

Therefore the *sāhityas* with tunes may be composed in various ways with different themes in various languages, but it should be remembered that they should be regarded as the means or mediums for creating and manifesting æsthetic sentiments and moods, which help the people to appreciate the $g\bar{a}nas$ and $g\bar{t}tis^{45}$ in their true perspectives.

^{45.} It has already been said that gāna and gīti are not considered in the same category, as by gāna we mean the ancient stage-songs (nātya-gītis), like dhruvā, prābešiki naiṣkrāmiki, etc., and by gīti we mean the dešaja māgadhī, ardha-māgadhī, pṛthulā, sambhāvitā, brahmāgīti, kapālagīti, kambalagīti, etc.

CHAPTER NINE

DEVELOPMENT OF MUSIC IN SANSKRIT

Tradition is a method or procedure that maintains contimuity and transmits achievements of the past to the future.

It is a social heritage, and it determines certain behaviourpatterns that conserve progressive factors of the society.

Tradition has some power of invention of new and novel
things which break the stagnant and monotonous forms and
flows of things. The human achievements are possessed of
two distinctive factors, the factor of conservation and the factor
of progression, and tradition being and of the inevitable ingredients of the human achievements, is known as a conservative
factor that ensures continuity of achievements and promotes

Mability and strength. Tradition is both the powers of transmission and conservation of form and value.

All the fine arts like music, architecture, sculpture, and painting have some tradition having novel principles and promotive motives in them. The traditional music of India undergoes many changes under the influence of many temporal and special as well as of racial factors. The music is defined in the Sanskrit treatises as a combination of arts of singing, drumming, and dancing, though vocal aspect became predominant in the human society. Music evolved and was practised of cultured in different ages with its different forms and ingredients. It has been discussed before that different styles of music evolved for different tastes and temperaments of the people of the society, and they were folk music, classical music, sacred temple music, and light music. Dance and musical instruments also accompanied them for keeping time or rhythm, tempo, and æsthetic beauty.

Music requires some medium, and we have discussed that language and tone are the vital forms of that medium. Tone is the flavouring and beautifying part of the medium,

and language is the expressive and conveying part. The language is the sign or symbol that conveys some ideas, and sweet language expresses the idea of song which is accompanied by colourful tones and tunes along with alamkāra, tāna, gamaka, kāku, sthāya or thāya, and other musical materials and phrases. Music is recognised as a symbol of the Absolute, nay, it sings the eternal song of the Absolute, and tones, tunes and languages help music to be meaningful with permanent value and beauty.

As the human beings live in the society of mutual understanding of ideas and actions, so they must possess some vehicle or medium that can express and exchange views and ideas among the people. Like other language, Sanskrit was a medium of music from the very ancient time. Sanskrit was known as the deva-bhāṣā or the spoken language of the Devas or bright spirits. Sanskrit may be recognised as the basic language. Well has it been spoken by many of the savants of both the East and the West about the value of Sanskrit in relation to linguistic and social subjects. While discussing about philology in connection with his subject of Oriental Proverbs and Their Bases, read before the International Congress of Orientality, held in London in September 1874, the Rev. Long said: "After eliminating the Sanskrit or Semetic elements from the Indian Languages in their Prakrt and modern form, we come to primitive or Turanian element common to those languages which were spoken through India before the Brāhmanical invader crossed the Himālayas and drove the aborigines to the hills and Daksina-Āranye, or forests of the great South." It is true that the archaic words and forms in proverbs current in the ancient societies, supplied us some important clue as to the steps by which Sanskrit itself passed from old strata to new ones, and ultimately it passed into the Prākṛt, and then into the modern vernacular form. Now, from the writings of the Vedas, Samhitās,

^{1.} Vide, p. 388.

Brāhmaņas, Sikṣās, Prātišākhya, Kāvyas, and Nātakas, we come to know that the medium of the ideas of them was Sanskrit.

It has already been said that art of music is very ancient. Facts and records of history and findings of archælogical explorations from time to time supply us genuine proofs that music was in practice even in the remote prehistoric days. From the diggings of the mounds of Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and also from the remains of Rupper, Prabhas-Pattan, and other places, we come to know many crude and undeveloped types of musical instrument like lutes, cymbals, drums, along with a dancing girl, but we cannot know the definite form of language that were used in the vocal music practised in the prehistoric cities. There is a controversy whether Mohenjodaro, Harappā and other prehistoric cities were Vedic or not, and this is not the proper place to discuss that matter, but yet it can be said with certainty that Sanskrit language formed the text-part (sāhitya) of Vedic music, sāmagāna. The sāmans were of different types with different Vedic tones, and they also differed in their forms and renderings in different recensions of the Vedas. The sāmagānas were generally pentatonic in form, i.e. they were tuned with five tones or notes. From the Vedic literature we know that the Kauthumiya recension (śākhā) used sometime six and seven tones in their gānas. Now, without entering into detailed discussions on the characteristics and methods of rendering of the sāmagānas, it can be said that some of the ganas (samans) were recited in basic tones of base or low, medium or circumflex and acute or high i.e. anudātta, svarita, and udātta, and most of the gānas were sung with Vedic notes, prathama, dvitīya, trtīya, chaturtha, mandra, atisvārya and krusta, which corresponded to the regional tones, madhyama, gāndhāra, rṣabha, etc. Sanskrit was the text-part of those songs, and from the Rk-tantra, Taittiriya, Aitareya and other Prātiśākhyas, we know that Sanskrit was the texts or sāhitya of the Vedic songs which were composed in praise of different Vedic deities, invoked before the blazing tongues of the sacrificial fires. Some of the Sanskrit textparts of the sāmagānas were the Sāvitrīmantram or Brahma-gāyatrī, like: उँ नमः सामवेदायः। गायत्रमः। ऊँ तत सिवतुर्वरेण्यं भगों देवस्य धीमही etc.; or Ājyadohagānam: उँ नमः सामवेदायः। ज्येष्ठसामः। आज्यदोहम्। As for example, ऋचा मूर्द्यांनं दिवो अर्रात पृथिन्या etc., or Mahāvamadevya-gānam: नमो सामवेदायः। महादेन्यम etc. As for example, ऋचा कयानः चित्र आभ्वदुतीं सदावृधः सखा etc. The Gāthā-nāraśamśī used to be sung also in the sacred Vedic and post-Vedic sacrifices, and the priests (yājñikas) were the singers.

Most of the Sanskrit text-parts were dedicated to different deities of the Vedic sacrifices and sacred rites in the Vedic period. The intonations of the Sanskrit texts of the Vedic songs were something peculiar and novel, as most of the words of the Sanskrit text-parts were elongated with the vowels. There were different methods of intonation of the Sanskrit text-parts, and they were viślesana, vikāra, vikarṣana, abhyāsa, virāma, etc.2 In the Chhāndogya-Upanişad, the Sanskrit text-parts were divided into himkāra, udgītha, prastāva, pratihāra and nidhāna, as we find different music parts like melāpaka, dhruva, antarā, ābhoga, etc. in the prabandha-gānas of the classical period, or sthāyī, antarā, sañchārī, and ābhoga of the gānas of the mediæval and modern periods. There were some meaningless letters called stobha, and they were used as the elongated portion of the ganas in order to suit the tones arranged in order, or in succession.

The figures 1, 2, 3 were mostly used on the text-part to indicate the basic register-tones udātta, anudātta and svarita. These were known as very old methods, and afterwards the Vedic tones like prathama, dvitīya, trtīya, etc. or the non-Vedic laukika tones, şadja, rṣabha, gāndhāra, etc. were used. There were different kinds of stobha, such as varna-stobha, pada-stobha, etc. In the classical period, the stobhas were used to elongate or to lengthen the words or sounds for creating æsthetic sentiments and moods in songs. As for example, 'आदिदेव महादेव त्रिश्चपानि जटाधर' etc. The form of their Sanskrit text-part,

^{2.} These have been explained before.

having stobhāksara, will be:

आ आ आ दि दे ऐ ऐ व । महा आ दे ऐ ब । त्रि शूउल पा आ आणि । जटा आध अरअ etc.

These elongated word-sounds are the stobhas which help to create æsthetic sentiments and moods. Now, to pronounce the words (sāhitya) of the songs we generally take notice in using vowels and consonants. Tantra considers the vowels as Siva, the basic consciousness or unmanifested concentrated energy and the consonants, as Sakti, the manifested energy. But both vowels and consonants (svara and vyanjana varnas) are known in Tantra as mātrikā-varņa. The mātrikā-varņas are the varṇamālā or muṇḍamālā (muṇḍa—human-head and mālā -garland of the human heads) in the neck of Kāli or Sakti. Now, it is a fact that without the help of vowels, consonants are inactive and lifeless. Tantra literature says that until and unless Siva, the static consciousness, supplies energy to Sakti, Sakti cannot manifest herself as the dynamic energy which is no other than the world-appearance. So Siva is the norm and Sakti is the appearance or manifestation. It is also found that until we add vowels to consonants, consonants (Ka to Mavarnas) remain inactive and motionless, and cannot create æsthetic sentiments and moods (rasas and bhāvas) in sentences and music. The treatises of music also say that rasa or rasakalā originates when consonants come in contact with the vowels; and it is also found that when we utter the consonants or vyanjana-varnas, we automatically use the vowels (svara-varnas) to make the consonants fully manifested and meaningful. As for example, when we pronounce Ka, we say Ka+Ah ($\pi+3$), and in this way the consonants take help of the vowels to make themselves fully manifested. Further, it is both the psychological and scientific fact that vowels are the cause of originating æsthetic sentiments in the words and songs, and as greater number of vowels we add in the consonants of the text-parts (sāhityas) of the songs, the greater quantity of sentiments (rasa) originate or manifest, so the expert musicians use greater and at the same time balanced number of vowels in the textparts of the songs. Here, in the Sanskrit text-part, ādi-deva Mahādeva we have used in each consonant or vyanjana-varņa same number of vowels or svara-varņas so as to make the song sweet and meaningful saturated with æsthetic sentiments.

Now in the Vedic song sāmagāna we find the Sanskrit text-part (sāhitya): 'ऊँ अन्न आयाहि बीतये गृणानो हन्यदातये। नि होता सर्तास बहिषि' etc. This mantra ऊँ अन्ने आयाहि used to be sung in three distinctive methods. There were 3681 gānas in the Jaiminiya recension and 2722 in the Kauthumiya and Rāṇāyaniya recension and their total number was 6403 and, therefore, there were 6403 Sanskrit text-parts in the Vedic song approximately.

In the classical period, i.e., in the Rāmāyaṇa period (400 B.C.), we find that the wandering Bards, Lava and Kuśa used to sing the Rāmāyaṇa-gānas in three registers, and they were enriched with mūrcchanās and several jātirāgas and two vikṛta-svara, antara-gāndhāra and kākalī niṣāda (vide the Vālmikī-Rāmāyaṇa 1.4.8-10).

Pāṭḥya means text or sāhitya. The pāṭḥyas were in Sanskrit.³ Besides, pāṭḥyas were composed of Prākṛt and other languages. In the Mahābhārata (300 B.C.), we find many references of the gāndharva or mārga type of songs, rectified and modified, in which Sanskrit text-parts were used. In the Harivamsa-Purāṇa (200 B.C.), we find that the Bhaimas, known in which songs with Sanskrit text-parts were sung in gāndhāra-grāma: 'आगान्धासमामा है हुन्या हुन्या

grāma: 'आगान्धार्यामरागां गंगावतरणं तथा' (vide Viṣṇuparva, 93/8-28). Similarly, in the Buddhist period, we find many songs with Sanskrit and Prākṛt text-parts, and the Buddhist Jātakas have mentioned about them. In the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇādya, Bṛhat-deva, and also in the mythological books like Simhāsana-dvātrimsika, Sukasaptati, and Jain Kathākoṣa, we find many

^{3.} Vide the chapter eight of this book, where styles and sāhityas, along with the languages have been discussed.

prabandha type of songs, the text-parts of which were Sanskrit, and some were also in Prākṛt and Pāli. In the Buddhist Lalitavistara, we find many gāthā-gānas, with Sanskrit text-parts. The veeṇās with different strings, and even with hundred strings were used in the songs. In the Vedic and Brahmanic period, we find vāṇa-veeṇā and kātyāyaṇī-veeṇā with hundred strings of muñjā grass or entrails of animals.

In the Rāmāyaṇa, we find seven pure type of jātigāna or jātirāga-gāna (vide 4th chapt.). In Bharata's Nātyašāstra (2nd century A.D.), we find eighteen jātirāga-gānas with different vital tones or aṅsa-svaras. It should be noted that the grāma-rāgas and grāmarāga-gānas evolved along with the jātigānas (vide Harivaṁsa and Nāradīsikṣā). Besides, there evolved some classico-religional songs or gītis like māgadhī, ardha-māgadhī, prthulā, and sambhāvita (vide Sangīta-Ratnākara, chapt. I). The text-parts of the jātigāna were Sanskrit, which were in praise of Siva. Śāraṅgadeva (13th century) has illustrated the ṣādjī-jūtirāga-gāna with Sanskrit text-part as:

सा सा सा पा निधा पा धानि * त भ ब ल ला० ० ट०

That is, the text-part runs thus-

तं भव-ललाट-नयनाम्बूजाधिकम् नगसूणुप्रणयकेलिसमुद्धवम् । सरसकृत-तिलक-पण्डकानुलेपनं प्रणमामि कामदेहेन्धनानलम्॥

The method of singing the jātigāna with ṣāḍjī-jātirāga has fully been described in the Sangīta-Ratnākara (Adyār ed., pp. 199-202). Similarly, the Sanskrit text-part of the jātigāna with ārṣabhī-jātirāga is:

गुणलो चनादिकमनन्तं अमरमजरमक्षयमजेयम्। प्रणमामि दिन्यमणिदर्पणामलनिकेतं भवमेयम्।

in the Nātyaśāstra, Sangīta-Ratnākara and other books.

In this way, eighteen $j\bar{a}tig\bar{a}nas$ were described. The $j\bar{a}tis$ are the fore-runners of the $r\bar{a}gas$. They are the parent $r\bar{a}gas$, which gave birth to all the classical and formalised $des\bar{i}$ - $r\bar{a}gas$.

It has already been said that the Sanskrit text-parts of the classico-regional gītis like māgadhī, ardha-māgadhī, etc. were in Sanskrit. As for example,

> मा गा मा धा धनि धनि सनि धा दे ० व ँ देव रिग रिग भग रि वन दे

The māgadhī type of gīti evolved from the Magadhadesa. In this way, Sarangadeva has illustrated the Sanskrit text-parts of other three gitis with notations and methods of presentation.4 All the Sanskrit text-parts were composed in praise of Śiva.

It should be mentioned in this connection that many Sanskrit hymns, composed in memory of Siva, Sakti, and other Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain deities, were set to tune and used to be chanted in sacred occasions with different rhythms and tempi-They are known as the stotragāna. Sankarāchārya, Rāmānūja, and other religious Teachers and many of the Vaisnava mystic saints of both North and South composed many devotional hymns which were sung in different melodies. Vajrayānī Siddhāchāryas of the 10th-11th century composed The Buddhist many charyā and vajra gītis in Sanskrit-Bengali, which are known as the suggestive sandhyābhāṣā. The therā and theri gāthās of the Buddhist monks and nuns were also composed in Pali and Sanskrit languages, and used to be chanted in different Vihāras for getting blessings of the Lord Buddha. The mediæval temple hymnal songs were of the similar nature.

There were seven kinds of gitis which were known as Kapāla and Kambala:

'इति सप्तकपालानि गायण ब्रह्मोदितैः पदैः। स्वरेष्ट्च पार्वतीकास्तस्तुतौ कल्याणभाग भवेत'।।

The Kapāla and Kambala gītis were known as the bhramagītis, i.e. the Sanskrit padas or texts were ordained by Brahmā, the Creator : ब्रह्मपोक्त पदावलीम्। The Sanskrit texts were : भन्दु भन्दु ।

^{4.} Vide Ratnākara, Adyār ed., pp. 282-286.

खुटुाङ्घधरं द्रंद्राकरालं तिष्तसदृशजिह्नम । ही ही ही * * कृतिवकटमुखम नमामि देवं भैरवम ।

These kapālagītis were sung with seven pure jātirāgas like

sādjī, ār sabhī, etc.

Bharata further mentioned in the Natyaśastra the sixtyfour dhruvā-gānas (gāndharva) which are not khown as the later dhruvapada or dhrupad, evolved from sālaga-sūda prabandha. The dhruvās were presented in different meters, i.e., chhandas, vrttas and jātis and the text-parts were in both Sanskrit and Prākrt. As for example,

- (a) शंकर: शूलभृत, पातु मां लोककृतम—Sanskrit
- (b) संअन्ततो अंगअस्मि बाइ बाओ पूज्यबाही—Prākṛt.

One of the Sanskrit texts of the dhruvā-gānas is in kaisīki-rāga:

केलिहतकामतन्तिश्रमविलासं,

तिलकपतं मुर्थोधवालसोमनिभम। etc.

In Nandikeśvara's Abhinayadarpana, Matanga's Brhaddeśi, Pārśvadeva's Sangīta-samayasāra, and Nārada's Makaranda, we find different types of song, in which Sanskrit was used as

text-part or sāhitya.

In the Gupta and Maurya period, we find many prabandhagānas which were sung with the Sanskrit text-parts. Mahākavi Kālidās mentioned different types of song, including Mangala-gīti: किन्नरेरुपसि गीतमंगलः। These gitis or gitamangalas nāndī. The Sūtas, Magadhas, and the prisoners (Bandis) used to sing these mangala-gitis were asirvachanas with wishing success of the kings or rulers. Sārangadeva mentioned about the Prabandha-gāna, Mangala, or Mangala-gāna used to be sung in kaiśiki and botta rāgas. Kālidās mentioned about the mangala-gīti in the Kumārasambhava. The rāga botta or bhotta was incorporated in the list of Indian ragas from the Himālayan Bhotadeśa or Tibet. Kālidās said about the gītis like charcharī, jambhalikā, etc., the text-parts of which were the Sanskrit. In the Abhijnana-Sakuntalam, Kalidas described different types of prabandha-gitis, the text-parts of which were composed in Sanskrit language with different

meters. In the Mālavikāgnimitram, Kālidās described the chhālika i.e. chhālikya-gīti. In the Harivamsa, it has been described that text-parts of the chhālikya gīti were in Sanskrit or Prākṛt. Six or seven grāmarāgas accompanied the stagesong, chhālikya. Sometimes dances followed the gītis. In Sudraka's Mrcchakatika, we also find music: कुट च संगीतक म्या। From the description of Chārudatta, we come to know that music in Sudraka's book was purely classical, and its sāhitya was both in Sanskrit and Prākṛt.

In the Mārkaṇḍeya, Vāyu, Viṣṇudharmottara, Bhagavata and other Purāṇas, we find the mention of prabandha types of music. They were tuned with jātirāgas and other deśī-rāgas, and their textparts were in Sanskrit. In the Purāṇas, we find seven kinds of brahmagītis like rk, gāthā, pāṇika, obenaka, rovindaka, etc. These brahmagītis used to be presented in three ancient grāmas, sadja, madhyama, and gāndhāra. Nārada of the Śikṣā (1st century, A.D.) told that in his time, the gāndhāra-grāma Was obsolete. The brahmagītis were sung in Sanskrit language. The Mārkaṇḍeya and Vāyu Purāṇas say that even the Baramuknew Sanskrit and used to sing songs in the deva-bhāṣā. The Vāyu-Purāṇa mentioned some of the rāgas named after many of their Sanskrit sāhityas were composed in the spirit of sacred sacrifices.

In the twelfth-thirteenth century, in West Bengal, we find some Sanskrit padagītis like Kavi Jayadeva's Gītagovinda, Lilā-śuka-Vilvamaṅgala Ṭḥākur's Śrīkṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta and others. The text-parts of the Gītagovinda are in Sanskrit-Bengali. They are impregnated with different æsthetic sentiments, and the basic set to tune with classical melodies. The Sanskrit texts are as the nibaddha-prabandha-gāna. Let us cite two Sanskrit text-parts which are sweet, sonorous, and musical in themselves:

लितलवङ्गलता-परिशीलनकोमलमलयसमीरे । मधुकरनिकरकरम्बित-कोक्तिलक्जित कुञ्जकुटीरे ।। This Sanskrit text-part is sung in the raga vasanta and in yati-tala.

चन्दन चर्चित-नीलकलेवर पीतवसनवनमाली । केलिचलन्मनिकुण्डलमण्डित गण्डयुगरिमतशाली ॥

It was sung in the rāga rāmakirī or rāmakrī and yati-tāla. The forms of the rāgas which were current even in the 12th-13th century, were changed for the changing of the determining standard scale. The ancient standard scale kāphī was changed into vilābala in the beginning of the 19th century, and Muhammad Rezā Khān and others took the leading part in that new movement.

The similar Sanskrit compositions with aesthetic sentiments and literary grace are found in the $Sr\bar{\imath}kr\bar{\imath}na-karn\bar{a}mrta$, composed by Lilāśuka Vilvamangala Ṭḥākur in the 13th century. Some fragments of the $Karn\bar{a}mrta$ was brought to Bengal by Śrī Chaitanya in the 16th century. Though the $r\bar{a}gas$ are not definitely mentioned in the $Karn\bar{a}mrta$, yet we believe that the $s\bar{a}hityas$ were set to different tunes, and rhythms. Let me cite a Sanskrit text-part of the $Karn\bar{a}mrta-g\bar{\imath}ti$, which is composed in $m\bar{a}lin\bar{\imath}-chhanda$:

मधुरमधरिवम्बे मञ्जुलं मन्दहासे शिशिरममृतनादे शीतलं दृष्टिपाते। विपुलमरुणनेत्रे विश्र तं बेणुवादे मरकतमणिनीलं बालमालोकये णु ॥६४

CHAPTER TEN

AESTHETIC CONTENTS IN INDIAN MUSIC

A

CONCEPT AND DEVELOPMENT

Concept of Aesthetics : Western

The quest for beauty is inherent in every sensible and artloving man. But how that beauty is appreciated? For appreciation of beauty, or the beautiful, two factors are mainly required, one, a work of art, and another, an ability to appreciate it. "These two factors", said H.H. Śrī Jaya Chāmarāja Wadiyār Bāhādur, "the ability to create a work of beauty, and the ability to appreciate anything beautiful, constitute roughly the business of æsthetics".

That which is pleasing or pleasant, is beautiful or æsthetic, i.e. we perhaps mean or say that 'beautiful' is a form of 'pleasant' and also of 'good'. Well has it been said by Dr. E. F. Carritt: "Reflection makes it difficult to believe which belongs to physical things even when these things are them as ugly or indifferent. It is truer to say that certain sound, or the mental images of these, are capable of arousing experience we call 'æsthetic' 1

In music, we find that when the audiences get some mental pictures of a tone, or of some tones, or of some rāgas, constituted out of permutation and combination of tones or notes,

^{1.} Vide, Philosophy: Chapter IX (edited by Dr. I. Levine), p. 305.

they are moved by the emotive feelings, which are aroused by tone, or tones, or by some ragas at some times, or even at all times, and the experience of that emotive feeling is called aesthetic. Majority of people generally experience and appreciate the pleasant feeling of some poetry, or of painting, or of architecture, or of music, and call it an æsthetic sensation. Wordsworth who used to call poetry an emotion recollected in peace and tranquillity, probably hit the truth which is associated with the Beautiful. Dr. Carritt said that we talk of the 'enjoyment' of beauty, and to experience beauty is certainly pleasurable, but so is the experience of truth and of goodness. "Even if the truth we discover, is painful, there is a certain 'pleasure' in the satisfaction of one's intellectual curiosity, and even if moral goodness involves sacrifice, it brings some moral satisfaction or pleasure too." All kinds of art too, whether music, or painting, or architecture, even if it deals with pain, as in tragedy, yields aesthetic pleasure. So it can be concluded that beauty and pleasure cannot be simply identified. Prof. S. Alexander also explained this fact in his monumental book, Space, Time and Deity.

Dr. Carritt said that æsthetic experience can be said to be the *knowledge of human emotions*, a knowledge by which we become directly acquainted with something and do not just learn its particular description. Now, it must be admitted that the feeling of a man reads into nature, or even into art, depends on his mood and experience. This is especially true of music.

Regarding feelings and imagination of beauty or goodness, Dr. Carritt further said that neither belief on evidence, nor conscious fiction, is æsthetic. It is only when we appear to see our own feelings or activities in what we perceive, because we have projected them into it, and do not ask whether the insight is true or false, that we have the æsthetic or contemplative, and not the practical or scientific attitude. Imagination is now involved, and our motions are expressed. Such imagination works both ways. We imagine ourselves enjoying the

movement of waves or seagulls or the feelings of heroes, and we imagine them feeling as we should do in our places.²

Now, the æsthetic experience or feeling, expressed in some sensuous form, real or imaginary, takes place wholly in one individual mind, though it may not be complete till the sensuous imagery in the mind has been given material form in the external world. Some are of the opinion that until and unless the self-expression of an artist is communicable, it cannot properly be called a work of art. Croce admitted it fully, and Collingwood partially. But it is true that an æsthetic experience only when it has been communicated, but purpose, can there be critical interpretation. Such questions of interpretation are not æsthetic.

For communication of æsthetic ideas and pleasure in the field of creation of art, artists are solely responsible. The artists have probably audiences in mind, however small, at least as soon as he begins to use a medium, said Dr. Carritt. They will prefer the languages, the styles, the musical notations and phrases, which they think will signify most to their choosen audience. But it should be remembered that the audiences desire or expect not only to get keen æsthetic experience from works of art, but to get also as nearly as possible the experience of the artists themselves. But there is a question of expression technique which are essential for best production of art. Prof. Collingwood drew a distinction between them, and said that distinction between expression (an æsthetic experience which satisfies an individual mind) and technique (ways of communicating it as nearly as possible to others) can be drawn as a distinction between art and craft. Dr. Collingwood said that "an art aims at beauty, but does not know how it will turn out till it is achieved, or, we might say, art aims at expressing

^{2.} Vide, Philosophy: Man's Search for Reality, edited by Dr. I. Levine, p. 312. Dr. Carritt elaborately dealt with this subject in his Theory of Beauty.

feeling, but only *knows* fully the nature of that feeling when it has been expressed, as the mathematician aims at solving a problem, but does not know what the solution will be. Once the expression is complete, we usually devise means to the conscious end of communication".

Regarding the contrast between Classical and Romantic art, Dr. Carritt said that art sometimes refers to the difference between artists with apparently strong or strange feelings which they cannot express quite successfully even to themselves, and artists who can fully express more ordinary feelings. In other words, sometimes the contrast between Classical and Romantic is between the æsthetic experiences of different artists and sometimes, though less frequently and properly, between their technical abilities of communication. "In all æsthetic experience, which is expression, there must be present same element of passion and same element of tranquil recollection or imagination. The technique of an artist determines whether he can communicate to his audience a complete fusion of the two. Prof. Harold Osborne beautifully explained this subject in his recent book, The Art of Appreciation.

Thus we find that the problem of æsthetic has been dealt with by a band of ancient, mediæval and modern philosophers. Greek philosophers discussed this problem, which was elaborately handled by the mediæval and modern writers. Prof. Will Durant said that Aristotle almost created the study of æsthetics, the theory of beauty and art. Artistic creation, said Aristotle, springs from the formative impulse and the craving for emotional expression. Essentially the form of art is an imitation of reality; it holds the mirror up to nature. There is in man a pleasure in imitation, apparently missing in lower animals. Yet the aim of art is to represent not the outward appearance of things, but their inward significance..... The noblest art appeals to the intellect as well as to the feelings...... and this intellectual pleasure is the highest form of joy to which a man can rise. Hence a work of art should aim at form, and above all at unity, which is the backbone of structure

and the focus of form.3

Afterwards, Kant, Hegel and other philosophers explained the nature of æsthetics. Kant said that artistic creation is a form of purposive activity, and ascribed beauty both to nature and to works of art. He argued that when we say something is beautiful and good, we do not ascribe a quality to an object, but we indicate that we take delight or pleasure in the object. He further said that æsthetic judgment is both objective and subjective, and he elaborately discussed this view in his Critique of Judgment. There he discussed that æsthetic beauty has meaning only for human beings who are partly rational and partly irrational, and as he is partly irrational, he has need of beauty. After Kant, Schelling and Fichte discussed about æsthetic contents. Then Hegel considered the work of art as a sensuous representation of the Absolute, which is universally whole. He discussed about Symbolic Art, Classical Art and Romatic Art in beautiful ways. The Romantic Art, he said, is represented in music and poetry, because music and poetry have greater and wider significance than sculpture, but from the view-point of form, music and poetry are inferior

Now, while writing on the philosophy of art of Schelling, Hegel said in his Lectures on The History of Philosophy: "On account of that permeation, art and poetry, therefore, hold the highest rank in Schelling's estimation. But art is the Absolute in sensuous form alone. Where and what could the work of art be, which should correspond to the Idea of the spirit? The universe is formed in the Absolute as the most perfect work of art: for Reason, which recognizes the Absolute in it, it possesses absolute truth; for the imagination, which represents the Absolute in it, it possesses absolute Beauty. Each of these expresses the very same unity', regarded 'from different sides; and both arrive at the absolute indifference point in the

^{3.} Vide The Story of Philosophy (Pocket Books, INC, New York, 1956), pp. 73-74,

recognition of which lies both the beginning and the aim of real knowledge." It seems that Hegel agreed with the ideal conclusion, made by Schelling, regarding art or æsthetic. Hegel and Schelling admitted somehow or other the Indian viewpoint of æsthetic or rasa.

Croce elaborately discussed the problem of æsthetic. He was of the opinion that intuition is the source of feeling and expression, and said that pure intuition and æsthetic activity are identical, for beauty is expression and every true intuition is at the same time expression. Again, real art is internal i.e. purely mental, and it is the successful expression that intuition lends to our impressions, feelings, etc. The intuitive musician creates music, and that which has already been said within, sings what has been really sung within, i.e., he externalizes what has been inwardly intuited. So expression, the essence of art, is mental. "The terminology", said Croce, "is unfortunate, because the work of art is always and only internal, and what is external, is no longer the work of art".

Therefore it is a fact that beauty, which is expression, truly belongs to the mental intuition. Croce was known to be an expressionist, because expression, according to him, is the essence of art, and that is purely mental or internal. Like Croce, Gentile maintained the view that work of art, or æsthetic activity, lives in the imagination of the artist, and 'an art is an exaltation of the subject released from the chains of the mind', and art is there not for its own sake, but for the soul's life, for its feelings.

Croce admitted that Kant has thrown much light on the problem of æsthetic judgement, but still he differed from Kant in many points. While Prof. D. M. Datta mentioning this difference, said, "while Kant places the æsthetic faculty very high among spiritual activities, even beyond the intellectual

^{4.} Vide Hegel's Lectures of the History of Philosophy, translated by Haldane and Simson (published by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London, E.C. 4), Vol. III, p. 540.

^{5.} Vide Estetica, p. 58.

and the moral, and while even Hegel places Art among the highest triad of his dialectic, along with Religion and Philosophy, Croce seeks for the foundation of art in intuition, the lowest, rather the most primary, activity of the human mind."6 So Croce's theory of art as expression "explains, among other things, the question how there can be beauty in a work of art that contains the tragic, pathetic, melancholy and even the disgusting aspects of life."7

Now, let us discuss about Edward Hanslick's theory of art and beautiful in music. Hanslick was born (1825-1904) in Prague, and his book, The Beautiful in Music deals with the major problems of musical æsthetics: the aim of music, its intrinsic nature, the relation between music and reality, and the role of the listener. Hanslick's writings have exerted much influence upon musical criticism and philosophical æsthetics, said Morris Weitz. In seven chapters, Hanslick efficiently dealt with the problems of æsthetics as founded on feelings, representation of feelings, beautiful in music, effects of music, musical contemplation, music and nature, and the subject of music. He said that the beautiful is and remains beautiful though it arouse no emotion whatever and though there be no one to look at it. He distinguished sensation and feeling which are the main aspects of art-activity. He said: "Sensation is the act of perceiving some sensible quality, such as a sound or a colour, whereas feeling is the consciousness of some psychical activity i.e. a state of satisfaction or discomfort.8 It is time that the object of music is to arouse our feelings, and to fill our hearts with piety, love, joy, or sadness; or other emotional mood. While explaining 'music and nature' (in Chapter VI), Hanslick said: "Art—considered, first of all, as passive, not as active—stands in a twofold relation to surrounding nature,

^{6.} Vide The Chief Current of Contemporary Philosophy (Second edition, 1961), pp. 90-91.

^{7.} Ibid., p. 91.

Vide The Beautiful in Music (The Library of Liberal Arts, New York), p. 10.

primarily, in respect of the crude matter from which it produces, and secondly, in respect of the forms of beauty which the external world affords it for outside reproduction. In both cases, nature stands to art in the position of a kindly benefactress by supplying the most vital and essential requirements. It must now be our endeavour to quickly review these resources in the interest of musical æsthetics, and to inquire what share of the rational and, therefore, unequal gifts of nature has fallen to the lot of music.9 He confessed that "on comparing music with other arts (painting, architecture and sculpture), it is obvious that nature has provided no model of becoming its subject matter, and so there is nothing beautiful in nature as far as music is concerned". He further said: "The work of the painter or poet is continual copying or reproducing (drawn from reality or the imagination), but it is impossible to copy music from nature." It is clear, therefore, that the relation of music to nature is most intimately connected with the question of its Wbject matter.

While explaining the representation of feeling of music, Hanslick said that 'every art comprises a range of ideas which it expresses after its own fashion in sound, language, colour, stone, etc. A work of art, therefore, endows a definite conception with a material form of beauty. This definite conception, its embodiment, and the union of both are conditions of an æsthetic ideal with which a critical examination into every art is indissolubly connected."

Now it can be asked as to what part of the feelings can busic represent? To this it can be said that music can represent only the dynamic properties of feeling, and it is quite true that music is unable to express the abstract notions. Hanslick said that no art can do this, "for it is a matter of course that only definite and concrete ideas (those that have assumed a living form, as it were) can be incorporated by an art." Vicher also defined determinate ideas as the domains of

^{9.} Ibid., p. 104.

^{10.} Ibid., p. 20.

life, provided that the corresponding realities be assumed to agree with our conception, for conception always denotes the pure and faultless image of the reality.

Hanslick was of the opinion that "sounds, like colours, are originally associated in our minds with certain symbolical meanings which produce their effects independently of and antecedently to any design of art..... Nature herself has established a sympathetic connection.In like manner, the first elements of music, such as the various keys, chords, and timbers, have severally a character of their own. There exists in fact, a but-too-ready art of interpreting the meanings of musical elements." Further he said that "whenever the question of the representation of objects by musical means is under debate, we are, with an air of wisdom, assured over and over again that, though music is unable to portray phenomena which are foreign to its province, it nevertheless may picture the feelings which they excite. The very reverse is the case. Music can undertake to imitate objective phenomena only, and never the specific feeling they arouse. In point of strength, pitch, velocity and rhythm, sounds present to the ear a figure bearing that degree of analogy to certain visual impressions which sensations of various kinds bear to one another."11

Hanslick said that "the beautiful is not contingent upon nor in need of any subject introduced from without, but that it contains wholly of sound artistically combined.....primordial element of music is euphony, and rhythm is its soul; Melody.....is pre-eminently the source of musical beauty. Harmony, with its countless modes of transforming, inverting, and intensifying, offers the material for constantly new developments, while rhythm, the main artery of the musical organism, is the regulator of both, and enhances the charms of the timber materials of Western music, but yet they are useful for Indian music too.

^{11.} Ibid., pp. 36-37.

Now what is the object of art? Hanslick said: "The object of every art is to clothe in some material form an idea, which has originated in the artists imagination. In music, this idea is an acoustic one, it cannot be expressed in words and subsequently translated into sound. The initial force of a composition is the invention of some definite theme, and not the desire to describe a given emotion by musical means. ...The beauty of an independent and simple theme appeals to our æsthetic feeling with that directness which tolerates no explanation except, perhaps, that of its inherent fitness and the harmony of parts, to the exclusion of any alien factor. It pleases for its own sake, like an arabesque, a column, or some spontaneous product of nature—a leaf or a flower. 12

Really music as a Fine Art excells all other arts in its serenity and pleasing and soothing nature. "There is no Art", said Hanslick, "which, like music, uses up so quickly such a variety of forms. ...Many schools of æsthetic think musical enjoyment is fully accounted for by the pleasure derived from mere regularity and symmetry, but these never were the sole attributes of beauty in the abstract, and much less so of beauty in music. ...But the musical sense wants symmetry combined with originality.¹³

It is a fact that mental activity is a necessary concomitant in every æsthetic enjoyment, and often varies very considerably in several individuals listening to one and the same composition (of song). And it is also true that truly æsthetic listening is an art in itself. And we know that music consists in successions and forms of sound, and these alone constitute the subject. They again remind us of dancing and drumming, which likewise aim at beauty in form and motion and are also devoid of a definite subject. Regarding music, Hanslick said that "whatever be the effect of a piece of music on the individual mind, and howsoever it be interpreted, it has no subject beyond the combinations of notes we hear, for music speaks not only by means of sound, it speaks nothing but sound".

^{12.} Ibid., p. 53.

^{13.} Ibid., p. 64.

After Edward Hanslick, we find a systematic historical survey on æsthetic as well as on æsthetic of music by Bernard Bosanquet. Prof. Bosanquet said in the 'Preface' of his monumental book, A History of Aesthetic that "the æsthetic theorist desires to understand the artist, not in order to satisfy an intellectual interest of his own. Aesthetic means, he said, the Philosophy of the Beautiful.14 All beauty is in perception or imagination. When we distinguish Nature from Art as a province of the beautiful, we do not mean to suggest that things have beauty independently of human perception. But if so, it is plain that 'nature' in this relation differs from 'art' principally in degree, both being in the medium of human perception or imagination, but the one consisting in the transient and ordinary presentation or idea of the average mind, the other in the fixed and heightened intuition of the genius which can record and interpret."15

We find that among the scientists the fundamental theory of the beautiful was connected with the notions of rhythm, symmetry, harmony of parts; in short, with the general formula of unity in variety, said Prof. Bosanquet. But when with the birth of modern world of romantic sense of beauty was awakened, further he said, accompanied by the craving for free and passionate expression, it became impossible that impartial theory should continue to consider that the beautiful was adequately explained as the regular and harmonious, or as the simple expression of unity in variety. The theory of sublime now makes its appearance, at first indeed outside the theory of the beautiful; but it is followed by the analysis of the ugly, which develops into a recognised branch of æsthetic inquiry, with the result of finally establishing both the ugly and the sublime within the general frontier of beauty.16

Herbert (1770-1841) and Schopenhauer (1788-1860) estimated the art of music as the beauty of the beautiful, though in some

Vide also Prof. Knight: The Philosophy of the Beautiful.

^{15.} Vide A History of Aesthetic (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1949), p. 3. 16. Ibid.

degree music is an objectification of the will, and in some degree beautiful. Ugliness appears to be merely defect manifestation or partial objectification of the will, and so, in agreement with what was said of beauty, would be merely relative. Schopenhauer's conception of music is mystical and sublime. He said that music is 'the quintessence of life and events, without any likeness to any of them', with the theory of Hanslick as modified by Lotze, according to which music embodies 'the general figures and dynamic element of occurrences', considered as carrying our feelings with them.¹⁷ Schopenhauer was a great lover of music. In 1858, Wagner sent him a copy of Der Ring der Nibelugen, with a word in appreciation of Schopenhauer's philosophy of music. Schopenhauer maintained: "Music is by no means like the other arts, the copy of the Ideas', or essences of things, but it is 'the copy of the will itself'; it shows us the eternally moving, striving, wandering will, always at last returning to itself to begin its striving anew. 'This is why the effect of music is more powerful and penetrating than the other arts, for they speak only of shadows, while it speaks of the things itself'. Its differs too from the other arts because it effects our feelings directly, and not through the medium of ideas; it speaks so something subtler than the intellect. What symmetry is to the plastic arts, rhythm is to music, * * *."18

The senses of beauty, or æsthetic senses, were methodically explained by George Santayana in course of his lectures on Aesthetics, delivered at Harvard College from 1892 to 1895. He said that the sense of beauty has a more important place in life than æsthetic theory has over taken in philosophy. The plastic arts, with poetry and music, are the most conspicuous monuments of human interest, because they appeal only to

^{17. (}a) Ibid., p. 367.
(b) Vide, Herbert's Classification of the Arts in A History of Aesthetic, pp. 371-372.

^{18.} Vide Prof. Will Durant: The Story of Philosophy (The Pocket Library, New York), pp. 337-338.

contemplation, and yet to other subjects. 19 Prof. Santayana distinguished three distinct elements of æsthetics as well as three methods of approaching the subject: (1) The first is the exercise of the æsthetic faculty itself, the actual pronouncing of judgement and giving of praise, blame, and precept. There is not a matter of science, but of character, enthusiasm, niceness of perception, and fineness of emotion. (2) The second consists in the historical explanation of art as a part of anthropology and seeks to discover the conditions of art. (3) The third is psychological, and it deals with æsthetic judgements as phenomena of mind and products of mental evolution.

Prof. Santayana was of the opinion that beauty is a value, and it is not merely a perception of a matter of fact, but it is an emotion, an affection of our volitional and appreciative nature. As for example, when we seek pleasure in the beauty of music, we pay attention to the appreciative nature of the beauty of music. Because beauty is constituted by the objectification of pleasure to be appreciated, nay, it is pleasure objectified.

Now, how do we define asthetic beauty in its truest sense? Prof. Santayana said that when we come in contact with a beautiful music, our "soul is stirred to its depths, and its The imagination and the heart awake for the first time. All the mind." Then the objects become perfect, and we are said penetration into the threshold of the objects, and it is known as the asthetic activity with value.

Prof. Santayana further said that poets in the field of assthetic beauty may be divided into two classes: the musicians language as harmony; they know the notes to sound together and in succession; they can produce, by the marshalling of

^{19.} Vide Introduction of 'The Sense of Beauty' (Dover Publications Inc., New York, 1955), p. 3.

sounds and images by the fugue of passion and the snap of wit * * * *. The psychologist, on the other hand, gain their effect not by the intrinsic mastery of language, gain their effect not by it to things."20

While explaining Expression, Prof. Santayana said that beauty as we feel it, is something indescribable. What it is, or what it means, can never be said. Besides, the feeling of art or æsthetic activity knows nothing of composition nor contributions, but "it is an affection of the soul, a consciousness of joy and security, a pang, a dream, a pure pleasure. It suffuses an object without telling why; nor has it any need to ask the question. It justifies itself and the vision it gilds; nor is there any meaning in seeking for a cause of it, in this inward sense. Beauty exists for the same reason that the object which is beautiful, exists, or the world for the same reason that the object lies, or we that look upon both. It is an experience: there is nothing more to say about it."21 "Beauty, therefore," he concluded, "seems to be the clearest manifestation of perception, and the best evidence of its possibility".

Dr. Earl of Listowel defined beauty in two distinct ways. He said that the word 'beauty' which conveys the sense of æsthetic is used: (a) 'sometimes in its popular meaning as equivalent to the entire domain of æsthetic experience, and (b) sometimes in its strict and scientific connotation of a particular æsthetic category, like the ugly, the tragic, the graceful, or the sublime'. He further said that "the word 'æsthetic' is invariably employed, not in its etymological sense as coextensive with the whole of feeling, but in the technical sense it has acquired in modern philosophy, as tantamount to the entire experience of the beautiful'."22

While explaining the theory of expression, Dr. Listowel discussed the theory of beauty, as advanced by two Oxford

^{20.} Vide The Sense of Beauty, New York, pp. 104-105.

^{22.} Vide A Critical History of Modern Aesthetics (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Meseum Strat, 1933), pp. 11-12.

philosophers, E. F. Carritt and R. G. Collingwood. He was of the opinion that 'in spite of the plain man's opposition, the beautiful should be regarded, like the secondary qualities, as purely mental and subjective; the absence of any science of beauty, the variety of our opinions about it, its partial dependence on obvious secondary qualities, are prima facie arguments for putting it on the subjective side'. This view was maintained by Prof. Carritt. Similarly Dr. Listowel quoted the opinion of Prof. Collingwood who really professed allegiance to Croce. This opinion of Prof. Collingwood seems to be similar to the Indian thinkers who make the idea of beauty or æsthetic divine and transcended. Dr. Listowel said: (Prof. Collingwood) then tells us that art is 'imagination', or 'pure imagination', and that imagination is an 'activity' which is prior to the logical judgement; thus we find that art, as a spiritual activity, is the first of the five successive stagesartistic, religious, scientific, historical, and philosophical-in the development of man's spiritual life, and that its specific and characteristic feature is pure imagination."23

Dr. Listowel beautifully surveyed the whole range of theory of æsthetic both in objective and subjective ways. discussing some æsthetic categories, he explained the sublime, the tragic, the comic, the beautiful and the ugly. æsthetic categories are the modifications of the æsthetic which represent_certain important and distinct aspects of our experience of the beautiful. In fact, when an æsthetic experience brings as pure, pervading, unalloyed delight, without any trace of conflict, disharmony, or pain, we are entitled to call it an experience of beauty; this feeling of harmonious joy should not, however, be restricted to sensuous pleasure, but this pleasure should be unearthly and divine, said Dr. Listowel. So the art of beauty or æsthetic "is nothing more than 'intuition', the pre-conceptual stage of thought, and so entirely distinct from material reality, from the useful, from the plea-

^{23.} Ibid., p. 16.

sant, from moral conduct, and from conceptual knowledge.²⁴ Now, it is a fact that art or beauty involves two activities, theory and practice, which correspond respectively *thinking* and *volition*. Practice or volition is also of two kinds: 'first, with the willing of particular ends, it is economic or useful, and later, with the willing of rational or general ends, it becomes truly moral', nay, it becomes truly spiritual.²⁵

Mr. Susanne K. Langer, a prominent art-critic and philosopher beautifully discussed significance of music from different viewpoints. Her books, Introduction to Symbolic Logic, Feeling and Form, and especially Philosophy in a New Key have thrown some new lights to solve the problems of æsthetics, psychology and philosophy in music. "This is not to say", she said, "that music is the highest, the most expressive, or the most universal art. Sound is the easiest medium to use in a purely artistic way; but to work in the safest medium is not at all the same thing as to achieve the highest aim."26 Further she discussed that "music exhibits pure form not as an embellishment, but as its very essence, we can take it in its flower-for instance, German music from Bach to Beethoven-and have practically nothing but tonal structures before us; no scene, no object, no fact. This is a great aid to our chosen preoccupation with form. There is no obvious literal content in our way. If the meaning of art belongs to the sensuous percept itself, apart from what it ostensibly represents, then such purely artistic meaning should be most accessible through musical works".27

- (1) Gilbert and Kuhn: A History of Aesthetics (New York).
- (2) Dr. L. A. Reid: A Study in Aesthetics (George Allen & Unwin).
- (3) C. J. Ducasse : The Philosophy of Art.
- (4) Prof. Elton: Aesthetic and Language. (George Allen & Unwin, London).
- (5) Melvin Rader: Study of Aesthetics.
- 26. Vide Philosophy in a New Key (New York, 1951), p. 178.
- 27. Ibid.

^{24.} Ibid., p. 17.

^{25.} Cf. also,

She further said that the history of musical æsthetics is an eventful one, as intellectual histoires go, so it is unavoidable that a good many theories have to be weighed in considering it. In Kant's day, it hinged on the conception of the arts as cultural agencies, and concerned the place of music among these contributions to intellectual progress. The Darwinians of the later days sought the key to its importance in the origins. Herbert Spencer considered music as a science, and discussed the origin of music in a most scientific way. William James took music to be "a more incidental peculiarity of the nervous system, with no teleogical significance."28 Helmholtz, Wundt, Stumpf, and other psychologists to whom the existence and persistence of music presented a problem, based their inquiries on the assumption that music was a form of pleasurable sensation, and tried to compound the value of musical compositions out of the 'pleasure-elements' of their tonal constituents. This gave rise to an æsthetic based on liking and disliking, a hunt for a sensationist definition of beauty, and a conception of art as the satisfaction of taste; this type of art theory, which, of course, applies, without distinction to all the arts, is 'æsthetic' in the most literal sense,.....29

So, whatever may be controversies regarding æsthetics or psychological contents of music, it is a fact that music of the artists becomes music, i.e. true music when its æsthetic and spiritual excellence find its way of expression through the medium of forms and textures, so as to commune with the ideas of both the artists and the audiences. Mr. Roger Fry was of the same opinion, though he expressed it in a different way. He said that 'an art-product with its harmony of hue and texture and colour is no other than an idea of the artist's mind.30 Really the ideas of the artists find their expression

Mr. Flaubert's opinion was similar to that of Mr. Roger Fry. Clive Bell's opinion should also be consulted.

^{28.} Vide Principles of Psychology, Vol. II, p, 419. 29.

Vide Philosophy in a New Key (1951), pp. 179-180. 30.

Cf. Vision and Design (1925), p. 50.

in an objective way, having in them the emotional contents, and that objective expression is no other than the materialized form and texture, constituted out of the sweet and soothing vibrations of the sound. The emotive ideas and feelings are, therefore, the fountainhead, from which wells forth the art of music in the external world,—the subjective becomes the objective.

Indian Aesthetics :

In the Śrngāra-prakrāśa Bhojarāja of Dhāra said,

शृङ्गारी चेति कविः काव्ये जातम रसमयं जगत्। स एव चेद अशृङ्गारी नीरसम सर्वमेव तत्।।

If the poet is possessed of śṛṅgārī (æsthetics), the whole universe is full of rasa, and if he is devoid of that æsthetic sense, then, indeed, everything of the universe seems dry and insipid. The Taittirīya-Upaniṣad said:

रसो वै सः। रसं एव अयम लब्धा आनन्दी भवति। २।३

The Indian name of beauty, or the beautiful, is anandam which is accompanied by sat or existence, and chit or pure consciousness. In the Rasasastra, sat, chit, and ananda are known as the determinate (saguna) Brahman, which is appreciated and realized in the ecstatic vision. Rasa or æsthetic sentiment is the medium for appreciation of the Supreme Ananda, (ānandaika rasam). In the Nātyaśāstra, Bharata defined rasa as that which can be relished by charvana (chewing), or by repeated work of contemplation. From rasa, emotional attitude (bhāva) evolves. Besides bhāva, there are vibhāva, sthāyībhāva, anubhāva, vyabhichārībhāva, etc. The sthāyībhāva gives a permanent and lasting pleasure, and vyabhichārībhāva is a transitory and temporary mood, and the vibhava and anubhava are the intermediate ones. Bharata recognised śringāra as the prime (ādi) and best sentiment. Sringāra is possessed of sthayībhāva which helps the artists to appreciate the rasa, śrngāra.

Now, the sthayibhava is an abiding dominant and permanent

sentiment, whereas the vyabhichārī one is transitory and impermanent. The sthayi one is capable of maturing into relishable state (āsvādyatā). There are eight mental states to the category of lasting sentiments (sthāyīns), and they are: (1) love (rati) which is appreciated by its different stages of prema, sneha, māna, pranaya, and rāga; (2) śoka, (3) krodha, (4) utsāha, (5) bhaya, (6) hāsa, (7) jugupsā, and (8) vismaya. Mamata Bhatta and some others included nirveda or disinterested attitude as a sthāyībhāva. Nirveda is also known as

The mental attitude, vibhāva, is of two kinds, circumstantial and personal. The circumtantial attitude is said to be the uddīpanā or exciting ones, and the personal vibhāva is an indirect one and can be known as the alambana one.

Bharata said that rasa is that which can be relished—'rasyate iti rasah'. The relishment of rasa is known as a flavour, which creates ecstatic joy in the mind and leaves an impression of wonder (chamatkāra), and that is the source of uncommon delight or lokottara-ānanda. These are included into the category of rasa-charvanā i.e. relishment of rasa. The mental fusion is the result of the sentimental relishment (rasāsvāda).31

Regarding rasa and dhyani, it can be said that rasa is the soul or vital energy of music, poetry and drama, and dhvani or sound is the ideal mode of its evocation. Therefore it is understood that manifestation of rasa (rasābhivyakti) is always a dhvani. Sārangadeva followed, in this respect, Bharata, and defined all kinds of rasa and bhāva in the Sangīta-Ratnākara.

Bharata said in the Nātyaśāstra:

न हि रसाहते कश्चिद्प्यर्थः प्रवर्तते । विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः॥

That is, without rasa nothing is fruitful, and rasa is fully manifested with the help of vibhava, anubhava and vyabhicharibhāva. But what does the word rasa mean, and what kind of

31. Vide S. N. Shastri: The Laws and Practice of Sanskrit Drama, Vol. I, (1961), pp. 258-259.

matter is rasa— 'रस इति कः पदार्थः ? To this, Bharata said : 'अत्रोच्यते आस्वाद्यत्वात् । कथमास्वाद्यो रसः ? * * यथा हि नानाव्यञ्जनसंस्कृतमन्न' भुञ्जानः रसानास्वादयति सुमनसः पुरुषः * *'32

That is, rasa is realized by the relishment or tasting. As the cooked rice (annam) is relished with many cooked vegetables, so a man relishly tastes all pieces of art, literature, poetry and drama with the help of sthāyībhāva. Therefore rasa or emotional content is essential in all aspects of appreciation of art—'त्या मूलं रसाः सर्वे तेष ज्यवस्थिताः ।'' Abhinavagupta elaborately explained the processes of manifestation of different rasas and bhāvas in his commentary, Abhinavabhāratī.

Music is not a meaningless exhibition of the texture of tones and tunes only, but is a means to penetrate into the core of the æsthetic feeling of the Divinity or the Wholly-Other. The svaras, alamkāras, gamakas, sthāyas (musical phrases) are the means to arousing the divine sentiments in the minds of the artists and audiences.

The svaras and the rāgas of Indian music create some sonic atmosphere for creating sentiments and moods. This creation is a method of uniting the physical and the psychic. It needs, therefore, a language as the symbol for a heart-to-heart talk or communication between two mental faculties.

Indian music has a basic note, tonic or sadja, which creates a fundamental sentiment for generating mood or moods. Almost all the melodies $(r\bar{a}gas)$ start from the tonic, so the tonic (sadja) is recognised as the basic note or tone which can be said to be the musical symbol of mental unity and tranquil peace.

The rasa-theory by Abhinavagupta is worth-mentioning. Bhatta-Nāyaka laid stress upon æsthetic experience in terms of predominance of sattva, but Abhinavagupta did not admit his view. Abhinavagupta said that an æsthetic experience is a transcendental one, and it cannot be explained in terms of any qualities like sattva, rajas, or tamas. It is above all qualities and is universal. It is the Self (Ātman) and is Ānandam. So

^{32.} Vide Natyasastra (Kasī Ed.), p. 71.

this blissful æsthetic experience or Anandam transcends the limitations of kalā, vidyā, rāga, niyati and kāla. Dr. K. C. Pandey was of the opinion that according to Abhinavagupta, æsthetic experience belongs to the second level of spiritual experience, which is known as the level of sakti, vimarşa or spanda or ānanda. Abhinavagupta recognised five levels of experience which are jāgrat (waking), svapna (dream), susupti (deep sleep), turiya (transcendental) and turiyātīta (pure and spotless). Of these five levels of æsthetic experience, the last two, turiya and turiyātīta, belong to the universalised subject, and the first three, jāgrat, svapna, and susupti, belong to the individual subject.33 Dhanañjaya also admitted that 'æsthetic experience consists in the realization of blissfulness of the universalised subject, affected by an universalised basic mental state and accompanied by a corresponding condition of heart'.34

This emotive nature of æsthetic experience is also emphasised by Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha. Paṇḍitarāja stated in the Rasagangādhara the view of Abhinavagupta, where he differed from him, and said that Abhinavagupta's æsthetic experience belongs to the level of vyatīreka-turīyātīta, in which all objectivity merges in the subconscious state and the subject, the Ātman, shines in its blissful state, which he does not accept.

What is rasa? Abhinavagupta followed Bharata, and defined rasa as rasyate iti rasah, because rasa is the basic mental state which is relished and, therefore, is rasa. Further he defined rasa as niravacchinna svātma-parāmarśa, svātma-viśrānti, and, therefore, rasa means the act of relishing—rasanam rasah.

Abhinavagupta discussed the problem of number of rasa. In this respect, he differed from Bharata and enumerated nine rasas including śānta. Bhānudatta also admitted nine rasas in his Rasa-tarangini, including santa as the ninth one. He also mentioned four more rasas, vātsalya, laulya, bhakti and kārpanya. It seems that Abhinavagupta followed, in this respect, the

^{33.} Vide Comparative Aesthetics: Vol. I, Indian Aesthetics (Baranasi, 1956), p. 112.

^{34.} Ibid., p. 127.

later Ālamkārikas like Dhanañjaya, Bhānudatta and others. Among the nine rasas, the first four are the principal ones, and the rest are the subordinate ones. The first four rasas are principal, because they are the basic mental states. "Thus, srngāra has rati as its basic mental state, which leads to the attainment of kāma and, consequently, to dharma and artha; raudra springs from krodha and leads to artha; vīra is based upon utsāha and leads to dharma and artha; sānta is based upon tattvajñāna and leads to mokṣa..... As harṣa etc. do not independently lead to any puruṣārtha, but do so only as parts of rati etc., so they are recognised to be subordinate." But interesting is this that Abhinavagupta admitted only eight sthāyībhāvas instead of nine. The permanent moods are mental and natural, and they reside in the emotional sentiments (rasas), so as to make them enjoyable and applicable to life.

Jīva-Gosvāmī wrote a monumental book, Ujjvalanīlmaņi especially on Vaiṣṇava æsthetics, and has devoted fifteen illuminating chapters (prakaraṇas), of which the śrṇgāra-prakaraṇa is the last and best one from viewpoint of rasa. His elaborate discussions on æsthetic sentiments and emotive moods (rasas and bhāvas) have thrown sufficient light not only on the Vaiṣṇava-rasa-paryāya, but also on the æsthetic problem of Indian literature, poetry, music, dance, and drama. Regarding the main rasa, madhura, Jīva-Gosvāmī said:

मूल्यरसेषु पुरायः संक्षेपेणोदितोऽतिरहस्यत्वात्। पृथगेव भक्तिरसाट् स विस्तरेणोच्यते मधुरः।। वक्ष्यमाणैर्विभावाचै:स्वाचतां मधुरा रतिः। नोता भक्तिरसः प्रोक्तो मधुराख्यो मणीषिधः।।

_-उज्ज्वननीलमणि १/२-३

A glossary was added by Viṣṇudās Gosvāmī, a disciple of Kavirāj Kṛṣṇadās Gosvāmī, the renowned author of Śrīchaitanya-Charitāmṛta. Jīva Gosvāmī was of the opinion that among the five main rasas, śānta, dāsya, sakhya, vātsalya, and

madhura, the most important or superior rasa is madhura, and he gave the reason for its superiority in his Bhaktirasamrta. The characteristic of the madhura-rasa is that this rasa, known as bhaktirasa, is realized by vibhāva, anubhāva, sāttvika, vyabhichārī, etc. emotive moods.36 This madhura or bhakti-rasa is also used in music, dance, and drama, as used to be applied in the Vīndāvana-līlā by the female attendants of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, so as to dive deep into the estatic vision of bhakti-sādhanā. The contention of Jīva-Gosvāmī³⁷ is that music is also a best means to attain salvation, so music-practice should be directed to right and proper way so as to unfasten the chain of samsāra.

Paņditarāja Jagannātha wrote a beautiful book on æsthetics, Rasagangādhara, and Nāgeśa-bhatta wrote an illuminating glossary on it. Jagannātha's exposition is very critical and analytic.

Panditarāja Jagannātha was a Tailinga (Telegu) Brāhmin of Veginād or Venginādu. At the end of his Bhāminivilāsa, Jagannātha said that 'during his middle age (navīna-vayasa) he enjoyed the benevolent patronage of the Delhi Emperor-"दिल्लीबल्लभपाणिपल्लबत्ल नीतं नवीनः वयः"। V. A. Rāmasvāmī Sāstri wrote: "This Delhi Emperor or Emperors referred to might be either Jāhāngīr or his son Shāh Jāhān, or both, since Jagannātha eulogises both specifically."38 Further Prof. Sastrī said: "Most probably, therefore, Jagannatha had access to the Mughal Court at the time of Jāhāngīr and enjoyed his patronage and subsequently that the Shāh Jāhān and Dārā Shukoh. * * that he received the title of Panditarāja from Shāh Jāhān."39 "Thus Jagannātha, a South Indian by birth, spent the best part of his life in North India and by his merit rose to the highest position open to authors at the Mughal Court."

However, Panditarāja Jagannātha wrote the book on æsthetics

^{36.} Vide Ujjvalanīlmani (edited by Haridās Dās, Navadvīp), p. 2.

^{37.} It will be discussed afterwards.

Vide Jagannātha Paņdita (Annāmālinagar, 1942), pp. 13-14, 38.

^{39.} Ibid., p. 15.

Rasagangādhara, both in prose and poetry. Regarding rasa, Panditarāja said:

'एवं संक्षेपेण निरूपिता रसः। एषां प्राधान्ये ध्वनिन्यपदेशहे तुरवम्, गुणीभावे तु
रसालंकारत्वम्। * रसालंकारव्यपदेशस्त्वलंकारध्वनिन्यपदेशवत्। * * अथ कथमेत
एव रसः? भगवदालम्बनस्य रोमाञ्चाश्रुपातादिभिरण्भावितस्य हर्षादिभिः परिपोषितस्य
भागवतादिपुराणश्रवणसमये भगवदभक्तैरनुभ्यमानस्य भिक्तरसस्य दुरपह्रवत्वात्। भगवदनुरागह्नपा भक्तिश्वात्र स्थायिमावः। न चासौ शान्तरसेहन्तर्भावमहाति अनुरागस्य वैराग्यवित्यत्वात्। उच्यते—भक्तेर्देवादिविषयरतित्वेन भावान्तर्गतत्वा रसानुपपत्तेः। * *
न च तर्हि कामिनीविषयाया अपि रत्नेर्भावतमस्तु, रितत्वाविशेषत्। * रसानां नवत्वगणना
प्रमुनवचननियन्त्रिता भज्येत * * 1740

Here we find that Panditrāja Jagannātha did not lay any stress on śantarasa, as Abhinavagupta, Mammata, Anandavardhana and others did. Panditaraja was of the opinion like Bharata of the Natyasastra that when a devotee concentrates his mind on a deity with deep devotion, his very addiction to devotion is recognised as rasa, and that devotion is known as the perma-Dent mood or sthāyībhāya. The sthāyībhāya is a sure means to attain to absorption into the core of everything divine and sublime. Further we find that when Panditaraja defined rasa, he Said: 'निजस्बरूपानन्देन सह गोचरीक्रियमानः प्राग्निविष्टबासनारूपो रत्यादिरेव रसः।' He also used ramaṇīyatā: 'रमणीयता च लोकत्तरह्वादजनवःज्ञानगोचरता'। The word ramaniyatā is rarely used in the Alamkārašāstra in the sense of saundarya, but Panditarāja Jagannātha used the word ramaniyatā in the sense of beauty, and ramaniyatā rouses some transcendent joy and delight in the mind. "Thus", said Prof. A. C. Sāstrī, "a beautiful object rouses in the mind a beling of beauty. This æsthetic enjoyment is nothing but the manifestation of our true self which is Bliss itself."

Prof. V. A. Rāmasvāmī Šāstrī said that "according to Abhinavagupta, rasa-realization comes only to the sāmājika. Among those who have commented on Bharata's rasasūtra before Abhinavagupta, only Bhattanāyaka has explained how the vibhāvas, anubhāvas, etc. in a kāvya expressed by abhidhāyakatva-vyāpāra are stripped of their individualistic aspects

^{40.} Vide Rasagangādhara (Kāvyamālā edition, Bombay, 1888), p. 45.

like Sakuntalātva and Dusyantva by the bhāvakatva-vyāpāra peculiar to a genuine kāvya."

We have discussed in short the rasa-theory, as explained by Abhinavagupta. "In the realization of rasa by sāmājikas, there is complete absorption (chittanispandatā) which is a blissful condition. Here Abhinavagupta and his predecessor Bhattanāyaka and their followers follow the Sānkhya conception of Kaivalya which is described to be complete cessation from all activities. This negative aspect of bliss in rasa-realization solves very well the great problem in connection with the karuna sentiment (pathos)."

But, we have already discussed that Jagannatha Pandit explained this problem of rasa-realization with reference to the positive aspect. "The soul is said to be, as the Vedantins hold, eternal consciousness and supreme happiness in itself. Whatever is lovable, must be blissful and nobody can love a thing which is adverse to his soul...... The Ātman's very nature is 'bliss'—the supreme consciousness. Now when the mental impressions in the intensified and generalised alaukika form are presented to the soul, the veil of avarana is lifted up and the blissful Atman is realized along with the realization of the sthāyībhāva—rati, śoka, etc. Just as a light, while lifted up from its cover, reveals itself and the objects nearby, so also the illumined Atman, when His veil avidyā is lifted up, reveals Himself and the sthāyībhāvas in association with their vibhāvas, etc., in as much as they are the mental conditions (अन्तः करणधर्माः) illumined by the inner chaitanya. Hence rasa is nothing but sthāyībhāva illumined by inner chaitanya when It is free from āvarana; or rasa is nothing but the inner chaitanya free from āvarana and delimited by sthāyībhāvas like rati. Of these, the former view belongs to Abhinavagupta and Mammatabhatta, while the latter is Jagannātha's own."41

We have discussed before that śrngāra is the prime and causal sentiment, on which it is said, other sentiments depend.

^{41.} Vide Jagannātha Paņdita, pp. 95-96.

But most of the later Ālaṁkārikas recognised śānta as the best sentiment. Prof. Rāmasvāmī Śāstrī said that after dealing with the various interpretations of rasa-sūtra, Jagannātha established śānta as a separate rasa even in nātya on the authority of Bharata. Jagannātha also explained sthāyībhāvas, vibhāvas, anubhāvas and vyabhichārībhāvas. And it is interesting to note that in the delineation of rasa, Paṇḍit Jagannātha particular care not only in unifying opposed rasas in his prabandha but also in avoiding expression of rasas by their terms like śṛṅgāra. He also explained elaborately the dhvanis of the nine (and not eight) rasas, elucidating in detail the bhāvadhvanis, giving the definitions and suitable illustrations of the thirty-four vyabhichārībhāvas.43

Jagannātha said that dhvanis become asamlaksya-krama-dhvanis under the conditions: (1) a clear context, (2) the easy understanding of vibhāvas, anubhāvas, and vyabhichārībhāvas as described in the RG., and (3) the cultured sahrdaya, who, as be understands the vāchārtha, is led to the blissful lealization of rasa, bhāva, or any other suggested idea. Paṇḍit Jagannātha discussed also the scope of vyanjanā-vyāpāra i.e. the power of suggestion, which is most vital feature both in poetry and music. Regarding it, Paṇḍit discussed three old (prāchīna) views.

Dr. S. K. De was of the opinion that Jagannātha's work displays an acute and independent treatment, or at least an attempt at a rethinking of the old problems. The charmingses belongs to an idea which causes unworldly or disinterested Pleasure. This quality of disinterestedness is an essential characteristic, which is a fact of internal experience and which is an attributed of pleasure, being synonymous with chamatkāra or strikingness. The cause of this pleasure, said Jagannātha, is a conception or a species of representation, consisting of

^{42.} Consult different bhāvas (moods) in Śāstrī's Jagannātha Pandita, pp. 106-114.

^{43.} Vide Rasagangādhara (Poona ed.), pp. 79-98.

continued contemplation of something characterised by the pleasure itself.44

So it can be said that beautiful (ramanīyatā) in music like poetry is, therefore, that which gives us disinterested or impersonal pleasure and enjoyment of bliss (ananda). We know that the poetic or musical sentiment (rasa) is peculiar in its nature, and it is, no doubt, a fact of one's own consciousness, but it is essentially universal and impersonal in nature, being common to all readers, artists and audiences, and possessing no significance to their personal relations or interests. The rasa in this sense is alaukika or supernormal. Panditarāja Jagannātha specially discussed rasa of poetry and not of music, but yet it can be said that being himself an expert composer as well as an exponent of classical music (because he was a courtpoet as well as a court-musician of the Emperors Jāhāngīr and Sāhā Jāhān), so he used to admit the importance of creating sweet flavour and colour (i.e. rasa-vastu) in music and its compositions which were included in the concept of dhvani (suggested sense) and saundarya (beauty).

Hemchandra similarly said in his Kāvyānuśāsana (I.3); 'सद्यो रसास्वादजनमा निरस्तवेद्यान्तरा ब्रह्मास्वाद्सहशी प्रीतिरानन्दः' i.e. ānanda or divine delight arises immediately from the experience of rasa, and this experience is like that of bliss attendant upon the realization of the Brahman—brahmāsvāda. 'This āsvādana or experience is the pure consciousness itself' said Pandit Bhūdeva. Pt. Bhūdeva said : 'रत्याद्यविच्छन्नं चैतन्यं वा रसः।' In the Bhaktirasamṛtasindhu, Madhusudana Sarasvatī regarded rasa as the transcendental consciousness (chaitanya) : 'रसो वे सः' i.e. God Himsel is recognised as rasa.

^{44.} Vide History of Sanskrit Poetics (2nd ed., 1960), Vol. II, p. 353. N.B. The sudents should consult here Dr. L. A. Reid's Meaning in the Arts (London, 1969), especially the chapter XIV, 'Revelation and the Aesthetic', pp. 245-263.

^{45.} Vide Rasagangādhara (Bombay), I.

^{46.} Vide Studies in Sanskrit Aesthetic (P. Ghosh & Co., Calcutta, 1952), p. 1.

In music, dance and drama, æsthetic sentiment (rasa) is treated as a supreme ānandarasa or bhaktirasa, which takes a sincere Sādhaka to the prime state of the Bliss. In the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, Bhagavān Śrī Kṛṣṇa is conceived as Ānandarasaghana which is appreciated in the æsthetic absorption.

Now both these essences, premasvarūpa and ānandaghana-rasa are required to be intimately appreciated. But what do we really mean by appreciation? Edward Bullough said that whenever we actually and fully appreciate some beautiful thing, it becomes ipso facto incomparable in point of beauty with any other thing or work. "For intense appreciation implies co ipso the recognition of its uniqueness, of those distinctive qualities, which are its exclusive property, * * The more we appreciate it, the more we let ourselves be imbued with its spirit and enveloped by its peculiar atmosphere, the stronger do we realize its uniqueness and solitary perfection. Conversely, the more we realize a work as an individual entity, distinct from anything else, the more we may be said to appreciate it".47 Real appreciation is no other than realization, and there remains no act of comparison in it, but it is unique and matchless. It is the realization of the Reality and Truth.

We have discussed before that Viśvanāth Kavirāja said that rasa is a mental state—a subjective experience of a man, of an artist, of an actor, or of a poet, in which enjoyment (āsvādana, charvanā, rasanā or bhoga) is essential, and in which the enjoyer and the object of enjoyment become identical, and rasa (sentiment) arises from an exaltation of the quality of sattva or goodness. We have discussed before in short that a new interpretation of rasa theory was forwarded by Rūpa Gosvāmī in the Ujjvalanīlamanī in terms of ujjvala or madhura rasa. Madhura rasa is a phase of bhaktirasa which conveys roughly five degrees of realization of devotion or faith, namely śānta

^{47.} Vide Aesthetics (Bowes & Bowes, London, 1957), p. 46.

(tranquillity), dāsya (servitude, and also prīti), sakhya (friendship or equality), vātsalya (affection), and mādhurya (sweetness).

Rūpa Gosvāmī developed the ideas of nāyaka and nāyikā along with bhāvas, vibhāvas, etc. In music, the rāgas and the rāginīs have their nāyakas and nāyikās, the embodiments of masculine and faminine tempers or moods. The rāgas are constituted out of different tones, and it has been said before that the tones are saturated with different sentiments and moods, and, consequently, the rāgas and the rāginīs are full of pathos, having different æsthetic patterns of śrngāra or śānta, and other eight, or nine, or ten rasas. In music, an artist can infuse himself as well as the sympathetic audiences, so as to make music and its improvisations or reproductions fruitful and visible.

In conclusion, it can be said that chittavrttis or moods in life are attended with their pleasures and pains and govern the daily actions of men. When an artist turns to them, he puts them into a pattern of his own making in his imagination, a pattern which never existed on earth. It is these patterned or organised mental states obeying a law of imagination that are called bhāvas. The process of imagination itself is bhāvanā. And it is tantamount to æsthetic sensibility.....bhāvanā demands concentration (dhyāna) as it does in Yoga. This bhāvanā is a precondition of the dramatist, the actor and the spectator alike.

Dr. Krishnamoorthy said that rasa is the very life of all artistic creation. The word rasa in the singular does mean asthetic delight, but the word rasa, in the plural, can only refer to heightened sthāyībhāvas like rati and utsāha and are called by names of śringāra, veera, etc. The rasa in the singular connotes the undivided (akhanda) asthetic enjoyment (āsvāda) the nature of viśrānti or blissful repose. The plural expression rasas cannot refer to it as is often supposed. "These rasas

^{48.} Vide Dr. Krishnamoorthy: Some Thoughts on Indian Aesthetics and Literary Criticism (Mysore, 1968), pp. 47-48.

are related to the æsthetic object or situation which is a compound of not only abiding psychic states (sthāyībhāvas) but also passing moods (vyabhichārībhāvas) and which points to their causes (vibhāvas) as well as consequents (anubhāvas). In fact, bhāva is the feeling content actually embodied by the poet and the artist, whereas rasa is the culminating point. Bhāva is objective and rasa is subjective.

B

DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF AESTHETICS IN INDIAN MUSIC

We have discussed that in Vedic time, sāmagānas of different recensions (śākhās) were sung before the sacrificial fire and also on other sacred occasion. The sāmagānas were presented also in different ceremonial functions in the post-Vedic time. The sāmagānas were mainly possessed of five Vedic tones, prathama, dvitīya, etc., three registrars (thānas, mandra, madhya and druta), timing (tāla according to kāla), and different æsthetic sentiments (rasas). Some of the recensions (śākhās) used six and seven notes (from prathama to atisvārya, or from prathama to kruṣta). The Kauthuma-śākhā mainly used seven notes. Through the medium of æsthetic sentiments, the sāmaga-singers used to make their gānas sweet and pleasing.

It is a fact that both the letters (varnas), vowel (svara-varna) and consonant (vyanjana-varna) were used in the samagana, as they are now used in all kinds of gana. The vowels are known as rasakalanaka, i.e. generator of æsthetic sentiments, whereas the consonants are the mediums. The mediums are animated and intensified by the touch of the vowels. As for example, when we say raja-raja, we utter r-a-ja-a-/r-a-ja, and the vowels 'a' between the consonants generates æsthetic senti-

^{49.} Ibid., p. 52.

ments, from which evolve different moods or $bh\bar{a}vas$. The vowels are, therefore, the vital energy $(pr\bar{a}na)$ of the words and sentences. In the Vedic $s\bar{a}mag\bar{a}na$, the vowels \bar{a} , i, u, au etc. were used to originate temperament and taste i.e. power of appreciation of the $g\bar{a}nas$.

In the Paurānika age, in the Rāmāyana (the compiling date of which is approximately 400 B·C.), we find the use of æsthetic sentiments in the gāndharva type of the jātigānas. In the fourth chapter of the Rāmāyana, we find,

पाठ्ये गेये च मधुरं प्रमाणेस्त्रिभरन्वितम् । रसैः शृगांरकरुणहास्यरौद्रभयानकैः ॥

It has been explained before that the word pāṭḥya connotes the idea of gāna with seven jātis or jātirāgas. The glossary, Tilaka, has mentioned:

"प्रमाणानि द्र तमध्यवित्तम्बतानि । सप्तजातयः षड्जादयः सप्तस्वराः सप्तस्वरविशिष्ट-गानानुरोधीति यावत । वीरादीत्यादिना वीभतसाद्भुतशान्तसम्पदः शृगांरादिरसैश्चयुक्तं नवरसयोगीति यावत ।"

In the glossary, Bhuşana, it has been said about æsthetic sentiment:

"रसो नाम स्थायोभावरुपचिचवृत्त्यभिन्यक्तिः स्थायोभावश्च नवविधः।"
However, this glossary has given a detailed list and description
of all the rasas and bhāvas

These glossaries of the $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$ are of the later date, because, in the $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$, only eight rasas have been mentioned, and in the beginning of the Christian century, Bharata in the $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$. Bharata said about the number of the rasas as:

शृङ्खारहास्यकरुणरौद्रवोरभयानकाः । वोभत्साद्भृतसंज्ञी चेत्यष्टी रसा स्मृताः ॥

But in the Kāvyamālā edition (published from Bombay, vide chapter VI. 78-83), it is found: "अध शमीनाम शमस्थायिभावारमको मोक्षप्रवर्तकः। * * एवं नवरसा दृष्टा"। Sama is no other than śānta-rasa. In the commentary, Abhinava-bhāratī, Abhinavagupta said

that sama means ātmasvabhāvah or tattva-jāāna. But in the Samgraha-grantha, Brahmābharatam, it has been mentioned : "एते हाष्टी रसा प्रोक्ता द्र हिणेन महात्मना।" Druhina is Brahmā or Brahmābharata.

The eight sentiments, as described by Bharata, are: (1) The erotic (śrngāra) sentiment proceeds from the dominant state of love or rati, and it has its basis or soul a bright attire. It has two bases, union (sambhoga) and separation (vipralambha). (2) The comic (hāsya) sentiment has its basis the dominant emotion of laughter. This sentiment is of two kinds, selfcentered and centered in others. (3) The pathetic (karuna) sentiment arises from the dominant state sorrow. (4) The furious (rudra or raudra) sentiment has its basis the dominant state of anger. (5) The heroic (veera) sentiment relates to the superior type of person and his energy as its basis. (6) The terrible (bhayānaka) sentiment has its basis the dominant state of fear. (7) The odious (vibhatsa) sentiment has its basis the dominant state of disgust. (8) The marvellous (adbhūta) sentiment has its basis the dominant state (sthāyībhāva) of astonishment. 50

Similarly Bharata explained moods (bhāvas), corresponding to sentiments (rasas). In the seventh chapter (Kāsī ed.), Bharata said:

"अत्राह—भावा इति कस्मात? किं भावयन्तीति भावाः? उच्यते-वागञ्चसत्त्वीपेतान् काव्यार्थान भावयन्तीति भावाः। भाव इति कारणसाधनं यथा भावितो वासितः कृत इत्यर्थान्तरम्।"

Now, what is vibhava? Bharata said : विभावी विज्ञानार्थः । * * विभाव्यन्तेऽनेन वागाञ्चसत्त्वाभिनया इति विभावः।

The bhavas are eight, and it has already been discussed that they are permanent—sthāyī. The vyabhichārī (subordinate) bhāvas are thirty-three, and the sāttvika-bhāvas are eight in number. Bharata described the æsthetic sentiments (rasas) and the emotional moods (bhāvas) to be applied in the dramatic

50. (a) The Natyasastra (Kaśi edition, Sanskrit).

⁽b) The Natyasastra (English translation), published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1950) pp. 108-116.

plays; but they should be applied to music and poetry. The rasas and bhāvas bring life to music and poetry, and these rasas and bhāvas can be materialized and visualized, and our past masters saw them not only in their estatic vision, but also in material forms

The renowned artist, Nandalal Bose of Santiniketan depicted those eight sentiments both by line-drawings and pictures, drawn by the request of the author.51 The artist has shown how the sentiments can be represented by different line-pictures. As for example, the artist has represented the pathetic (karuna) sentiment by the line-picture of a lamented woman who has lost her only son. Owing to grief and deep sorrow, the head of the woman has nearly touched the breast. suggests that the movement of the ragas which express pathetic sentiment, should be represented by madhyama and rsabha, or by sadja and madhyama and the like. In fact, the crooked movement (vakra-gati) of the notes, or the waving movements of the notes, or the andolita svaras, rṣabha and dhaivata also express karuṇa-rasa along with śāntarasa, because the serene calmness of the mind together with the attitude of complete detachment (nirveda or vairāgya) also originate from deep sorrow and pangs of separation from the near and dear ones. In this way, the artist has depicted all other sentiments by different arrangements or movements of the lines and pictures.

In the Vaiṣṇava-Rasaśāstra, we find two more rasas, mādhurya and vātsalya. These rasas are the means or medium of generating bhāvas which create pleasure or ānanda in the mind.

In the $Sik_s\bar{a}$, Nārada I, has mentioned about five basic microtones (frutis), $d\bar{i}pt\bar{a}$, $\bar{a}yat\bar{a}$, mrdu, $madhy\bar{a}$ and karuna, which and $day\bar{a}vat\bar{i}$, developed in the $N\bar{a}tyas\bar{a}stra$ and $post-N\bar{a}tyas\bar{a}stra$ and from them twentytwo microtones evolved. The five causal microtones are surcharged with æsthetic sentiments

^{51.} Vide S. Prajñānānanda: Rāga-O-Rūpa, Vol. II (Bengali).

(rasas), and the fact is proved by their names, diptā, āyatā, mṛdu, madhyā and karuṇa. And as from the causal one's diptā, āyatā, etc., the twentytwo microtones in the later date evolved, they were also impregnated with æsthetic sentiments.

In the Sangīta-Ratnākara (13th-14th century), we find seven kinds of kapālagītis, and it has been mentioned before that they were sung with seven śuddha-jātirāgas, ṣādjī, ārṣabhī etc. They were known as the brahmapadas. The name brahmapada was given because they used to be sung in praise of the Lord Śiva—'śivastuti'. Śārangadeva further said in the SR. that aparāntaka, ullopya, madraka, prakari, auveņaka, sarobindu and uttara—these seven gītis, together with seven other brahmapada like rk, gāthā, sāma, pāṇika etc. which were also sung along with the jātirāgas, and they were used for generating pleasing æsthetic sentiments. Yājñavalkya has also mentioned about these fourteen gītis. 52

In the Nātyaśāstra, Bharata mentioned that the seven notes like ṣadja, ṛṣabha etc. and also displaced or chromatic notes like ṛṣabha, gāndhāra, dhaivata, and niṣāda should be made impregnated with æsthetic sentiments. He said,

हास्यशृगांरयो कार्यो स्वरी मध्यमपञ्चमी । पद् जर्षभी तथा चैव वीररीद्रादम्तेषु तु ।। गान्धारश्च निषादश्च कर्तवी करुणे रसे । धैवतश्चैव कर्तव्यो वीभतसे सभयानके ।।

That is, the notes, madhyama and paūchama (4th and 5th) should be presented with the rasas, hāsya and śringāra, the notes ṣadja and ṛṣabha, with veera, raudra and adbhuta, the notes, gāndhāra and niṣāda, with karuṇa-rasa, and the note, dhaivata, with the rasa, vibhatsa. Besides, while discussing on the varṇas, ārohī, avarohī, sthāyī and sañchārī in connection with jātigāna, Bharata said that the Vedic registrar-notes, udātta, anudātta, svarita, and kampita are also known as the varṇas, because they help the pāṭḥya or gāna to be enriched with the æsthetic sentiments.

^{52.} Vide S. Prajñānānanda: Bhāratīya Sangīter Itihās, (Bengali), Vol. II (the detailed discussion), pp. 104-106, 226.

For this purpose six kinds of alamkāra were used—'şaḍalamkāra-samyutamiti'. These six alamkāras are,

उच्चो दोष्ठश्च मन्द्रश्च नीचो द्रुतविलम्बितौ । पाठ्यसैते ह्यलण्डकाराः लक्षणञ्च निवोधतः ।।

The alamkāras were used along with the kākus. Now what is a kāku? Sārangadeva said: "काकुध्वनै विकार:"। Bhanuji-dīkṣit said that while expressing lamentation, fear, etc. kāku is used with some changes in sound, and by the changes of sound different kinds of emotional sentiment grow. Simhabhūpāla said while commenting on the Sangīta-Ratnākara that kāku produces softness, beauty, and different sentiments. explained in the Natyasastra (19.57-58) that when kaku is used with slow tempo, it produces different rasas, hāsya, śringāra, and karuna; when it is used with high tempo, it produces the rasas, veera, raudra, and adbhuta, and when its tempo is rapid, it produces bhayānaka and vibhatsa rasas. It is said in the Rāmāyaṇa, Vālmikī taught Kuśa and Lava these methods of producing the kākus. Now, how the kākus produced in the registrars (sthānas), circumflex (mandra), medium (madhya) and acute or high (uchcha), Bharata has said about them in the

उच्चा दोम्रा च कर्वच्या काकुस्तत्र प्रयोक्त्भिः। हास्सशृगांरकरूणोव्वष्टा काकुविलम्बिता।। बीररौद्रादभुतेषूच्चा दोष्ठा चापि प्रशास्यतो भयानके सबीभत्से द्रता नीचा कीर्तिता। एवं भावरसोपेता काकुर्योज्या प्रयोक्तृभिः।।53

That is, for the manifestation of the rasas, hāsya and śrngāra, the medium (madhya) alamkāra was used; for the manifestation of karuṇa, vilamvita alamkāra was used, and for the manifestation of the rasas, veera, raudra, adbhuta, vībhatsa and bhayānaka, rapid or druta alamkāra was used. As regards kāku or svārochchāraṇa-kalā, Abhinavagupta said in the Abhinavabhāratī:

^{53.} Vide Nātyaśāstra (Kāśī edition), Chapter IXX, pp. 57-58.

"विस्मयावगतौ तु सैब रसकाकुः, परस्य त्रासनाभिप्रायेण तु सैब विभावकाकुः। * * दैन्ये काकर्द्विजवीतामेति - स्वचित्तवृत्त्वर्पणाद्रसकाकः, परस्य रूपोत्तपादनाद्विभावकाकुः ।"

That is, rasa-kāku and vibhāva-kāku were used to generate admiration and fear. Sometimes rasa-kāku used to be applied for generating æsthetic sense in oneself, and sometimes vibhāvakāku used to be applied to others. In fact, æsthetic sentiment was recognised as the vital power to infuse vigour and strength in the process of intonation and singing.

In the Nātyašāstra, we find that the jātis or jātirāgas, prabandhas, and the dramatic songs (nātyagītis) dhruvās were added with æsthetic sentiments before rendering them into singing. In the 29th chapter (Kāśī edition), Bharata described as to how the jātirāgas used to be saturated with different rasas. As for

example, he has said.

पड़ जोदीच्यवती चैव पड़ जमध्या तथैव च। पड जमध्यमबाहल्यात कार्यं शृगांरहास्ययो ॥

That is, sadjodichyavatī, sadjamadhyā etc. should be sung with the rasas, śrngāra and hāsya. Similarly ārşabhī, ṣādjī, etc. should be presented with the rasas, veera and adbhuta. Further Bharata said.

ध्र बाविधाने कर्तव्या जातिगाने प्रयत्नतः। रसं कार्यमवस्थां च ज्ञात्वा योज्याः प्रयोवत्भिः।।

That is, knowing well the method of application of the rasas, jātigānas amputed with dhruvā, should be rendered into singing. The whole 29th chapter has been devoted to similar description, because he said : "जातयो रससंश्रयाः" i.e. jātis or the causal rāgas are based on rasas or æsthetic sentiments. And while describing the sixtyfour dramatic songs, dhruvās, he said,

ध्रुवाणां चैव सर्वासां रसभावसमन्वितम्।

And while describing the three aspects (prakrtis) of the dhruyās, he has also said :

रसभावी तु पूर्वीका ऋतुः कालकृतस्तथा 154

54. Vide the detailed description of the rasas in relation to dhruvāgāna-Nātyaśāstra (Kāśī ed.), 32 chapter.

Now, leaving aside the treatises, Brhaddesī, Sangīta-samayasāra, Sangītarāja, when we read the Sangīta-Ratnākara (thirteenth century) we find that in the second ragavivekadhyaya, Śarangadeva explained as to how the grāmarāgas, sadjagrāma, śuddha-kaiśīka, bhinna-kaiśīka-madhyama, etc. were made into practice along with different æsthetic sentiments. He said,

- (a) काकल्यन्तरसंयुक्ती वीरे शौद्रे हद्भुते रसे। गेयोह्दः प्रथमे यामे पद्जग्रामाभिधो वधैः॥
- (b) शुद्धकेशिकः—'वीररौद्रादद्धतरसः शिशिरे भौमवल्लभः।'
- (c) भिन्नकेशिकः—'प्रसन्नादियुते दानवीरे रौद्रे हद्भुते रसे' ॥55

In the chapters on Prakirna and Prabandha, we find also the uses of rasas, while producing mārga and deśī-rāgas, as well as different kinds of Prabandha. As for example, in the chapter on the Prabandha (IV. 167-169), Śārangadeva has said:

हास्यश्रगांस्योर्हसः सिंहो वीरभयानके। विप्रलम्भे त सारङ्गः शेखरः करुणे रसे ॥ सश्रमारे पृष्पसारः श्रमारे परिकोर्तितः। रौद्रे प्रचण्डो नन्दीशः शान्ते धीरैरुदीरितः ॥ गद्यजाः पद्यजागद्य-पद्यजा इति ते त्रिधा । Etc.

That is, the sāhityas of the rāgas were composed of prose, poetry, and also of prose and poetry combined, and when those sāhityas were mixed with the mārga and deśi-rāgas, they used to produce eight or nine rasas, which were the sources of pleasing sensation or anandam.

In the twelfth-thirteenth-century (1170-1250 A.D.), Sāradātanaya also discussed about æsthetic sentiments and moods (rasas and bhāvas) is relation to music, dance and drama, for the use of theatre in the Bhāvaprakāsana. He said:

नृत्तं गीतञ्च वाद्यञ्च नाटकादुपकारकम् ।

Regarding origin of music, Sāradātanaya said that when the five winds (vāyus) and prāṇa are controlled by the mind, evoke the fire into the dhātus through the dhamanī (nādīs),

55. Vide Sangīta-Ratnākara, Chapter II.

nāda (causal sound) is produced by a combination of the above mentioned fire (agni) and dhātu. This nāda is that which is known as svara or tone. Different places of the svaras and the numbers of srutis attached to the svaras are due to different situations of the dhātus and dhamanis. In this section, science of music has been treated, and Sāradātanaya followed principally the teachings and methods of the three authors, Bhoja, Abhinava-

gupta and Bharata in this respect.

Saradatanaya belonged to the Kashmere (Trika) School of Tantra. Regarding the theory of rasa or æsthetic sentiment, he followed Abhinavagupta, and said that rasa is the soul of poetry, and that alamkāra, guņa, rīti, etc. only glorify the kāvya or poetry which is the combination of beautiful words and ideas. But it should be noted that Sāradātanaya did not agree with Abhinavagupta and on some occasions he differed from him. He criticised not only Abhinavagupta, but also other writers on dramaturgy while they discussed about śāntarasa. It is said that Udbhata was the first writer who included santa as one of the rasas. It was approved by Anandavardhana. Abhinavagupta gave the śāntarasa a place of unique importance amongst different rasas. Again "Rudratā or Rudrabhatta not only accepted santa as an important rasa, but included preyas also as a rasa, and boldly declared that the vyabhichārī and sāttvika-bhāvas such as nirveda, harşa, etc. also, when properly developed, contribute to the pleasure in the same way as sringāra or karuņa, therefore, they should also deserve to be admitted as additional rasas. Sāradātanaya, who followed Dhanañjaya in this respect, condemned the views of all these thinkers and opined that śantarasa cannot be enacted on the stage, for no vibhāva, anubhāva and sāttvika can be produced by the sama, the sthāyībhāva of the śānta. ...Being a firm believer in the theory of rasa as promulgated by Bharata, Sāradātanaya mainly developed the srigāra-rasa on the lines suggested by Bhoja in his Śrngāraprakāša." (vide, Introduction, p. 15).

Sāradātanaya gave the origin of Indian music in brief. In

the seventh chapter of his Bhāvaprakāśan, he discussed jātis (jātirāgas) as the forerunner of different rāgas, together with śrutis and other essential materials of Indian music. Regarding æsthetic sentiment, he said that as rasa is essential for poetry, so it is for music. In the sixth chapter, he described the characteristics of different rasas which are applied in music, dance and drama. He said,

हास्याभिमृत शृङ्कारस्तदाभासो भविष्यति । हास्यो वीभत्समिलितो हास्याभास उदाहतः ।। वीरो भयानकाविष्टो वीराभास इतीरितः । वीभत् सकरुणाश्लेषद्द्युताभास उच्यते ।। रौद्रः शोकभयाविष्टो रौद्राभास इतीरितः । हास्यशृङ्कारखचितः करुणाभासः उच्यते ।। वीभतसोद्द्युतशृङ्कारो वीभतसाभास उच्यते । रौद्रवीरामुषक्तश्चेदाभासः सद्भयानके ।।

(Pp. 132-133)

Sāradātanaya said that same rasas are intermixed with other rasas so as to create rasābhāsa, but when they are applied in music, dance and drama, the main rasa should be observed from them. He mainly dealt with dhruvāgānas like prāvešikī, ākṣepikī, etc. and gāthā, rk, pānikā, etc. for using in drama so as to create rasa or æsthetic beauty. He said,

भूबाः पञ्च प्रयोक्तन्या रसाभिनयासिद्धये । पावेशिको तु प्रथमाद्वितीयादृक्षे पिकी स्मृताः ॥ etc.

These dhruvās have been dealt with elaborately by Bharata of the Nātyaśāstra. However, Sāradātanaya was of the opinion that music being the superior art to other ones, it should be handled carefully for producing æsthetic sentiments to rouse the vital energy that sleeps in the depth of the subconscious plane of the human beings.

Śrīkaṇṭḥa wrote Rasakaumudī in the 16th century A.D. (1596 A.D.) dealing with gīta, vādya, and nṛtya as well as with the theories of rasa, bhāva, vibhāva, vyabhichārī-bhāva, etc. Like Paṇḍit Somanāth of the Rāgavibodha (1609 A.D.), Śrīkaṇṭḥa classified the rāgas in detail, along with their characteristics

(lak sanas) and contemplative compositions (dhyānas). He also described the nāyaka-nāyikā-bheda of the rāgas so as to point out how to reproduce the rasa-contents, along with the bhavaprakāśas of the rāgas and rāgiņīs. As for example, Śrīkantha described the dhyāna of the rāgiņī, saurāstrikā as,

उत्तू ज्ञयीनस्तनलोत्तहारा कर्णोतपलालिध्वनिदत्तचिता। प्रियान्तिकं याति विलोलबाहुः सौराष्ट्रिका कुंकुमलिप्तगल्ला ।।

From this dhyāna, we know that the rāgiņī is the abhisārikā-Similarly the dhyana of the ragina gurjara describes, nāvikā.

इन्दिररश्यामतनु सुकेशी पाटीरपत्रावलीचारुतलपा। श्र तिस्वरव्य इविभागरम्या तन्त्रीमुखान्मजु तगुर्जरीयम् ॥

ron it we know that the ragini is vāsakasajyā-nāyikā.

In this way, while Śrīkantha described the laksanas together with dhyana-mantras, of all the ragas and raginis, he mentioned about all rasas as described by Bharata in the Nātyašāstra, but he included sāntarasa instead of srngāra. He said about tantarasa :

ताहकतारुण्यतुङ्गस्तनकलशापरीरम्भसम्भारदम्भम्, रम्भास्तम्भोरुयुग्मां मदकलसमदिराघूणिताक्षीं विहाय।

धन्यास्ते वीतरागा ऋटिति गिरितटे पद्मनाभं भजन्ते ॥

The śāntarasa brings vairāgya, ānanda of muktirasa, as Paņdita-

rāja Jagannātha suggested.

Like Paņdit Somanāth and others, Śrīkaņţha had shown that Indian traditional thought has postulated the power of svaras to suggest and to impart the æsthetic experience which is associated with the six seasons of the year, and this view is the basis of the seasonal rāgas, said Dr. Premalatā Śarmā, while editing the manuscript of the Rasakaumidī. Pandit Śrikantha, therefore, described six seasons as uddhipana-vībhāva of śrngāra:

ऋतुनां वर्णनं युक्त्या नवमे क्रियते क्रमात। ऋतबो विविधेभींगैरातन्वन्ति मुदं यतः ।।

There is also ālambana-vibhāva of Sadrtus or six seasons.

Almost all the authors on music mentioned about the seasons of the year, so as to adjust the rāgas and rāginīs with the seasons so to originate the æsthetic rapture which is the vital energy of them. Now Saḍrtu-varṇana has been traditionally accepted as an indispensable part of a Mahākāvya. Dr. Premalatā Sarmā said that "it must be remembered that Srīkanṭḥa could not be expected to have overcome the influence of his period..... He presents stray instances of poetic conceit and imagery in the conventional and stereotyped objects of description, flames of effective phrasing, streaks of lifelike consonance and condence of syllables lending melodious musicality to his poetry".

Now, if we critically study the pre-Nātyaśāstra and the post-Nātyaśāstra as well as the Ratnākara and post-Ratnākara works, together with the works of Mādhava Vidyāranya, Govinda Dīkṣit and Venkatamakhī, we find that all types of gāna and gīti used to be sung for producing different rasas and bhāvas so as to make music of India living and inspiring. It has been said before that æsthetic contents are the soul or life-force of music, and without them lusture (lāvanya) and meaningless and aimless, which Indian viewpoint deplores and condemns.

Idea of Rasa in Greek Music

We find that like the rasa theory of India, the Greek theory of ethics was also attached to the music of Greece. Plato mentioned in the Republic that the Mixed Lydian, Hyperlydian, Dorian, and Phrygian modes used to express different æsthetic or emotional sentiments like sorrow, pleasure, bravity, melancholy etc. After a close and comparative study it is found that the ancient Greek modes or scales were similar in nature to Indian modes or scales. As for example, the

Greecian mode Dorian was similar to the Carnatic Khara-harapriyā-mela, etc.:

- (a) D E F G A B C' D' Dorian Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa' Ri' — Kharaharapriyā
- (b) E F G A B C' D' E' Phrygian
 Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa' Ri' Ga' Hanumantoḍī
 (South)
 Bhairavī-(North)
- (c) F G A B C' D' E' F' Mixo-Lydian Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa' Ri' Ga' Ma' — Kalyāṇī
- (d) G A B C' D' E' F' G' Hypo-Lydian (Plagal)
- Pa Dha Ni Sa' Ri' Ga' Ma' Pa' Harikāmbodī (e) A B C' D' E' F G A — Hypo-Dorian (Aeolian)

Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha — Nata-Bhairavī (South) Āśāvarī (North)

We have seen that the Indian *melas* are always surcharged with different æsthetic sentiments and moods originated from them. Therefore, it will not be difficult to conclude that the corresponding ancient Greecian modes were also of the similar nature.

In India, the *Bhajans*, *Padāvalī-Kīrtanas* (of Bengal), and *Krītis* (of South-India) and different folk-songs of different parts of India are full of emotional contents, as they appeal to the core of the hearts of all living beings. We have seen that the characteristic of a *rāga* is to tinge the hearts of all living beings with the colour of its own—'*raājayati iti rāgaḥ*'. So all the materials, associated and assimilated with the *rāgas*, are full of emotional sentiments (*rasas*) and moods (*bhāvas*) that create pleasing and peaceful sensations or feelings in the hearts of all living beings.

Utility of the Aesthetic in Music

It may be asked as to what is the utility of the study of æsthetics of music. From the writings of both the thinkers of the East and the West, we know that æsthetic means the beauty, or the Beautiful, which pervades and saturates the whole Nature. It is the life or vital energy of music and poetry, and without the experience of the æsthetic, study and culture of music and poetry will be baseless and barren.

Really æsthetic sentiment (rasa) is the cream or extract (niryās) of music, and study and culture of music help the artists to find out that extract and to delightfully relish it and also to get into it, to be one with it. It should be remembered that a deepest experience or truest relishment of æsthetic sentiment of music is no other than Anandam itself, that unfastens the chain of delusion of the artists. Madhūsudan Sarasvatī (early 16th century) beautifully discussed the intrinsic nature as well as the prime aim of the æsthetic feeling (rasānubhūtī) in his Bhaktīrasāyaṇa. In the third chapter of the Bhaktīrasāyaṇa, he raised a question as to what is rasa: 'nānu ko'yam raso nāma?', etc. and said.

Nityam sukhamabhivyaktam 'raso vai sah' iti śrute / Pratitih svaprakāśasya nirvikalpa-sukhātmikā // The word 'nirvikalpa' connotes the idea of 'purity' or pure delightful relishment, because, in the next aphorism, he said: "paramānanda ātmaiva rasa iti", and while explaining the text 'raso vai sah', the commentator said: 'ataeva brahmāsvādasahodaramityāchakṣate sudhirāḥ'. So rasa or æsthetic sentiment is no other than the divine feeling of the Brahman-knowledge —brahmāsvāda-sahodaraķ'. Paņdit Viśvanātha Kavirāja also mentioned this sweet word 'brahmāsvāda-sahodarah' in his Sāhityadarpana III.35 In the Dhvanyāloka and Lochana (II.4), the words 'parabrahmāsvāda-sachivaḥ' happen, which are equivalent to the word rasasvādaļi. Sometimes mark of difference is drawn between these words, brahmasvāda and rasasvāda—Truth and Beauty, as 'Truth relates to transcendental Existence and Beauty to the Archotypal world'. Dr. S. K. De discussed this matter

and said: "The brahmāsvāda is likened to the rasasvāda, because in both cases the intimate realization comes after the limitation of the ego-centric attitudes are transcended, and all separate existence is merged in the unity or harmony realized." 56

Now to conclude, it can be said that while dealing with the problems of Indian æsthetics, some are inclined to leave aside the problems of Western æsthetics, and vice versa, but discussion on æsthetics should always be comparative, as comparative knowledge is the surest guide to lead all to the abode of bliss and supreme silence. Sometimes it is believed that Indian Rasaśāstras are superior to those of the Western countries, but that is not also correct, as the intuitive savants of both the lands have penetrated the core of the deep æsthetic feeling, and so all the works on æsthetics of both the countries should be studied, followed, and be applied to our practical use, so as to know the real significace of Art and Beauty.

Appendix I

COMBINATIONS OF SOUND — 'MUSIC'

[Let me quote some portions (pp. 233 to 237) from Dr. Alexander Bain's THE EMOTIONS AND THE WILL (Third Edition, London, 1988), Chapter XIV, which deal with 'The Aesthetic of Emotions' for the students of psychology and aesthetics of music.]

"On the sensations of Hearing, is based the large department of Art named Music, vocal and instrumental, together with the pleasurable effect of Speech, considered as Sound.

I have alluded to the elementary sensations of agreeable sound, which, as now demonstrated, especially by the researches of Helmholtz, are found to include harmony. Since a sweet note is already a harmony, the influence of the recognized musical concords is not something absolutely new, but an extension of the same harmonizing process. Hence, we now regard the simple harmonies and melodic sequences as sense effects; the operation of intellect coming in at a farther stage. To an ear of average susceptibility, these primary effects are highly pleasing; and musical composition contrives to yield them in variety and abundance, while contributing intellectual charms in addition. The ultimate foundation of the agreeableness of the elementary sounds is too subtle to be assigned. All normal sensation, in due alteration and degree, is pleasurable; and, when combination adds to the pleasure, the only explanation to be offered consists in assuming a mutual support or concurrence, which increases the consciousness without increasing the nervous waste. We find that regularity is an essential condition of agreeable sensation; and the musical note is made up of a succession of beats that are equal in time. When several notes are conjoined in harmony, there is still the regularity of recurrence, with the

increase of the stimulation. The simple numerical ratios (2/1, 3/2, 4/3 etc.), express the best chords, and, as the ratios are farther removed from simplicity, the harmonious effect gives place to discord, which is at last painful.

The second stage of musical effect arises by bringing into play the intellectual delight of Unity in Variety. This is termed by James Sully the beauty of musical form. 'Contrast and symmetry, variety and unity, are common to all kinds of beautiful objects, whether natural or artistic. The development of music may, indeed, be regarded as a gradual expansion of musical form. Without doubt, the progress of the art has added distinct sensations of tone and harmony, notably by the enlargement of the whole scale by the invention of instruments of widely different timbre, and by the introduction of many new elements of harmony and melody. But in a yet larger measure, all successive invention has aimed at a higher beauty of structure, at some new mode of combining musical elements which may supply a larger delight through the conscious appreciation of the like in the diversified'.

In his very subtle and original analysis, Mr. Sully⁵⁷ traces at the attribute of unity in variety through all the various guises assumed in a musical compositions. First and most conspicuous, as a means of unity, is Time. To make a sequence of tones all equal in time, gives the simplest impression of unity in variety. Next is a sequence where the tones are alternated with their sub-divisions—a semibreve with two crotchets, and so on. This is carried up to the Foot or Bar, which confers of music its distinguishing rhythmic character, as triple, quadruple, etc. Next, and in close connection with time, Emphasis or Accent. But the quality that gives widest scope for intellectual effects is the proper musical element of Pitch or Height of tone. Definite pitch leads to definite musical Intervals, or the movements up and down the scale. These intervals have in the first place the effect of simple melody,

^{57.} Cf. James Sully: Outlines of Psychology (6th ed., London, 1889).

but in their symmetrical groupings they give room for the added effects of unity in variety. As an example, we may have 'the recurrence of a melodic interval or series, in precisely the same order, an element of variety being supplied by the introduction of subordinate and ornamental notes'. Another form is presented 'when a given movement is transported into another region of tone, by the selection of a new initial note related to the first'

Finally, from Harmony is obtained a great extension of musical form. When the mind is capable of discriminating definite shades of harmony, it is prepared for new contrasts and transitions, and consequently for new forms of unity in variety. A change from pure harmony to disturbing discord constitutes the strongest form of musical contract, while sequences of chords of similar harmonic character manifest a certain æsthetic unity.

The third and last power of music is derived from expression, or the reflex of the human emotions. Music is not imitative, like painting and sculpture; it does not refer us to the visible world. But it imitates the tones of the human voice, which are the most flexible and expressive signs of human feeling. We have acquired in our life-time innumerable associations between tones and emotions; and there may be, if Evolution be granted, ancestral associations that precede our wakening into living consciousness. Any sounds, however arising, that approximate to these suggestive tones, and sequences of tone, become the means of awakening the feelings themselves. Among the points of direct resemblance between music and natural vocal sounds, are—pitch of tone, intensity or emphasis, timbre, change of pitch or interval, greater or smaller, and duration and rapidity of tone. As indirect resemblance, we may include the fact that happy and peaceful expression would tend to fall into forms agreeable to the ear.

Music is capable of representing emotional strength or intensity. A powerful passion is shadowed forth by the energetic elements of tone—emphasis, rapidity, range of inter-

val and duration. Again the difference between pleasure and pain can be dimly expressed through the indirect associations of melody and harmony. When energy of will, rather than emotion, is to be expressed, the musician resorts to increase of accent and heightening of pitch, followed by abruptness of termination. When a series of tones is effectual in stimulating human passions and energies, by a natural illusion, it suggests a living soul behind, partly revealed and partly mysterious, with which we enter into a kind of sympathy. Still farther, from our habit of recognizing sounds as emanating from the visible world, we are carried by their means to visible objects and activities. In this way we are led to conceive a hurricane, a battle, or impressive natural scene; hence such compositions as Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony.

The limitations of these various powers, through the necessities of musical form, bring out the conflicting aims of the composer.⁵⁸

^{58. &}quot;I would refer to Mr. Sully's three essays on Music (Sensation and Intuition, pp. 163-245) for the full expansion and illustration of these topics. I have merely picked out a few of his leading ideas, to enable the reader to perceive the draft of the examinations"—Alexander Bain.

Appendix II

BEAUTIFUL IN ART

[While dealing with 'THE METAPHYSICS OF THE BEAUTIFUL' in his book, "THE ELEMENT OF METAPHYSICS" (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1909), Dr. Paul Deussen discussed about 'Some Remarks on the Beautiful in Art', pp. 194-220]

"Art and Metaphysics are near akin. These two and (besides morality) these alone rise above empirical existence and its petty interests. Both dwell in the contemplation of Being-in-itself, which by metaphysics is apprehended in concepts and by art in immediate intuition. For the artist looks through nature to that which is behind it, and which, though imperfectly, appears in it. This, the thing-in-itself, the Will, he seizes intuitively in its phenomenal forms, the ideas. He "tears it out of nature" (as Albrecht Durer says), and portrays it isolated in the work of art, the task of which is always, to make visible an idea (not a concept), in giving it, from a particular point of view, pure and unimpeded development. To this it is due that poetry is not only, as Aristotle says, more philosophical than history, but that art in general is more instructive than reality. For while we see the Ideas in nature broken up in space, time, and causality, and thus only through the mist of objective and subjective contingencies, the artist removes this mist, so that the true Being of things becomes perceptible, in the interpreting mirror of art, even to the duller eye. To gain this the voluntary perception of the Idea, in which alone all beauty lies, the artist makes use of certain allurements (lenocinia) which flatter the senses and captivate the interest. Such are: beauty of colour in painting, that of tone in music, rhyme and metre, interesting actions and exciting complications in poetry. Spurious art plays with

these means, without having anything to impart to us by them. The genuine artist uses them alone for setting in relief (as a picture by the frame) the Idea the presentation of which is the sole aim of every art. Architecture, sculpture, painting, poetry, and music (which, as we shall see, goes yet deeper) serve this end, each in its own way.....

MUSIC is, as the name implies, the work of the Muses, the art....., and indeed the whole drift of our inquiry leads us to recognise in it the summit of all art, because the most immediate expression of Being-in-itself at which all art aims. This dignity is assured to it not only by the incomparable expressiveness of its language but also by the importance of what it imparts to us by it. That which speaks to us in the sounds of music, is as has long been recognised and often repeated, the feelings, the affections and passions of the human heart. Now these are nothing but the Will mirroring itself from within in the intellect, that Will which, as we know, is the thing-in-itself, the principle of all being. Music, therefore, in portraying the world of feelings of the soul, discloses at the same time the inner being of all nature. For that which, in the immediate light of knowledge, flows and surges in us as emotion, freeing itself from the soul in sighs, words, and tones, and forming itself into an objective and relief-giving imagethat it is which sighs and vibrates as unconscious suffering, as unfelt feeling in all sounds and tones of creation. For that which roars in the thunder, murmurs in the water, groans in the axle of the wheel, whispers in the leaves of the tree, howls as wolf and coos as dove, is nothing but the one Will to life animating us also: "aitad-ātmyam idam sarvam, tat satyam, sa ātmā, tat tvam asi, Cvetaketo!"-"Of the essence of that is this universe, that is the Real, that is the Soul, that art thou, O Cvetaketu!" (Cchāndogya-Upanisad, vi. 8-16).

Two ways lead to the knowledge of Being-in-itself, that is Will: the external way of cognition and the internal way of feeling. All other arts take the outer way, in seizing and potraying the Will in its perceptual forms, the Ideas. Even

poetry, to which the inner world is opened, can only impart what it sees there indirectly by means of cognition through concepts. Music alone sets the Ideas and the whole perceptual world aside, to take its way through the ear, past the intellect, immediately to the heart, to unfold, as an objective spectacle, its revelations directly in the feeling of the hearer, though without any suffering on his part; and again and again we wonder how this way of looking immediately and yet objectively at Being-in-itself became possible to us.

The sole theme of music is the Will in all its joy and all its sorrow. Accordingly it is pure weal and woe which speak to us in the flattering accents and the deep pathos of its sounds; whether they reproduce in short merry melodies the joyous aspiration and speedy satisfaction of the Will, the soaring of hope, the fiery striving, the rejoicings of victory and festive mirth; or whether, in melancholy sounds, deviating from the keynote and winding through varied intricacies and painful dissonances, they become an image of pain, now raging in craving, or seeing in desolate and utter despair all hope of life heartache finds rest, thought in the return to the keynote, the greatest

heartache finds rest, though it be but that of the grave.

The fundamental character of willing, by the portrayal of which music discloses the depths of the human heart and with these the inmost being of the world, consists, in small things reconciled with surrounding circumstances. Let us try to mind with the world is portrayed by music through its agents, is the melody, and rhythm, harmony. The soul of a musical piece of willing, intensity of which is easily recognised the rising and falling sound. Now in empirical existence there are two elements opposed to the will with which it must reckon and struggle, in the concord of which to the wishes of the heart springs all pain,

These elements are on the one side the order of the universe in space, time, and causality given a priori, on the other those inorganic and organic forces of nature, added a posteriori, which are akin to the Will and share the field with it, now favouring and furthering its efforts, now resisting it and preparing struggle and distress. Similarly in music there is opposed to that sequence of sounds which we call melody on the one side rhythm with its a priori regularity, which drives the melody striving after the repose of the keynote ever farther, allowing it no rest till the tonica, or at least a harmonic interval coincides with the accent of the rhythm. On the other hand we have harmony, akin in its nature to melody, which it accompanies in its course as the surrounding forces of nature accompany the Will, now furthering, now hindering it. To complete the parallelism, we have in the dissonances, in their painful expression allowing of no rest, a self-evident objective picture of unsurmounted hindrances and unsatisfied strivings. consonances, on the other hand, paint that harmony of human willing with the surrounding and accompanying powers of the external world, on which in fact all satisfaction depends.

So we see music, so all art engaged in unveiling and interpreting the innermost being of this whole world. Yet it is always this world alone of which art tells us in all its forms, words, and sounds. Beyond it no artist is borne by the flight of his fancy, from it even a Dante and a Milton must borrow all colours for their pictures. True, it is not things themselves but the Ideas of things which the artist portrays. But what separates the things of this world from their Ideas, is only their empirical reality, their existence in causality, space, and time, with the consequences of such an existence. From these hindrances, originating in our own intellect, the artistic genius sets things free. By this not so much the contemplated object is changed as the method of its contemplation and through

this the contemplator himself. How the phenomenon of the beautiful is explained by processes within us, by the deliverance of the beholder from himself, Schopenhauer has taught us, but it was known also before him."

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Appendix III

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FINE ART AND BEAUTY

The phrase 'fine art' further implies, said Prof. Collingwood, that the bodily or perceptible work of art has a peculiarity distinguishing it from the products of useful art, viz. 'beauty'. 'This is a conception which has become very much distorted in the course of many centuries' speculation on æsthetic theory, and we must try to get it straight''.

This word 'fine art' does not belong to the English language as such, but to common speech of European civilization. "If we go back to the Greek, we find that there is no connection at all between beauty and art. Plato has a lot to say about beauty..... The beauty of anything is, for him, that in it which compels us to admire and desire it the proper object of 'love'. The theory of beauty is thus, in Plato, connected not with the theory of poetry or any other art, but primarily with the theory of sense love, secondly with the theory of morals To call a thing beautiful in Greek, whether ordinary or philosophical Greek, is simply to call it admirable or excellent or desirable." In modern times, said Prof. Collingwood, there has been a determined attempt on the part of aesthetic theorists to monopolize the word and make it stand for that quality in things in virtue of which when we contem-

^{59.} Vide The Principles of Art (Oxford, 1939), p. 36.

plate them we enjoy that we recognize as an æsthetic experience, "Modern æstheticians who want to connect the idea of 'beauty' with the idea of 'art' will say to all this either that the word is 'correctly' used when it is used in connection with æsthetic experience and 'incorrectly' on other occasions, or that it is 'ambiguous' having both an æsthetic use and non-æsthetic. Neither position is tenable."60

The æsthetic experience, said Prof. Collingwood, is an autonomous activity. It arises from within, it is not a specific reaction to a stimulus proceeding from a specific type of external object For to say that beauty is subjective means that the æsthetic experiences which we enjoy in connection with certain things, arise not from any quality that they possessbut from our own æsthetic activity. So Prof. Collingwood summed up his discussion on this point that "æsthetic theory is the theory not of 'beauty' but of 'art'. The theory of beauty, if instead of being brought (as it rightly was by Plato) unto connection with the theory of love it is brought into connection with æsthetic theory, is merely an attempt to construct an æsthetic on a 'realistic' basis, that is, to explain away the æsthetic activity by appeal to a supposed quality of things with which, in that experience, we are in contact; this supposed quality, invented to explain the activity, being in fact nothing but the activity itself, falsely located not in the agent but in his external world".61

Herbert Read also discussed both 'art' and 'beauty'. He said that "the simple word 'art' is most usually associated with those arts which we distinguish as 'plastic' or 'visual' but properly speaking, it should include the arts of literature and music" as Schopenhauer first said that "all arts aspire to the

But most of misconceptions of art, said Herbert Read, "arise from a lack of consistency in the use of the words art and beauty.We always assume that all that is beautiful,

^{60.} Vide The Principles of Art (Oxford, 1939), p. 40.

is art, or that all art is beautiful, that what is not beautiful, is not art, and that ugliness is the negation of art. This identification of art and beauty is at the bottom of all our difficulties in the appreciation of art..... For art is not necessarily beauty; that cannot be said too often or too bluntly. Whether we look at the problem historically..... or sociologically....., we find that art often has been or often is a thing of no beauty."62 Beauty, he said, is generally and most simply defined as that which gives pleasure, and art is most simply and most usually defined as an attempt to create pleasing forms. Such forms satisfy our sense of beauty and the sense of beauty is satisfied when we are able to appreciate a unity or harmony of formal relations among our sense-perceptions, which is generally known as æsthetic experience.

However, æsthetic experience or artistic activity is the experience of expressing one's emotions and that which expresses them is the total imaginative called indifferently language or art, and this is art proper, and most of the modern æstheticians like Hanslick, Croce, Gentile, and others used sometimes the word 'art' in the sense of 'beauty'. In fact, expression of supernatural beauty that generates joy and delight which cannot generally be expressed by language or speech, but can be

felt as an experience.

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^{62.} a) Vide The Meaning of Art (Penguine Books, 1963), p. 17.

b) Consult in this connection The Philosophy of Art by Hegel.

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[Some of the Kaviguru Rabindranath Tagore's comments on 'AESTHETICS OF INDIAN'
MUSIC' are remarkable]

- I. "When in India Music was a living tradition, the amount of attention it gave to bhāva or expression, was something remarkable. I do not know of any other country which gave as much attention to this aspect. How great the emphasis must have been is borne out by the fact that our Ragas and Raginis were composed with the idea of expressing the mood of the different hours of the day or even the different seasons of the year. There used to be also pictorial exposition supposed to depict."
- II. "It is ture that both the hours of the day—morning and evening—call for soft notes. In the same way as morning opens its eyes slowly and gradually, the evening closes its eyes slowly and gradually. That is why soft notes and semitones which tend to merge into one another slowly and gradually, are so necessary to reveal difference between the melodic patterns: while the morning raga must gradually unfold to a crescendo, nuendo. This contrast is to be seen between Bhāiron and Puravi."
 - III. "I am greatly enamoured of this "inwardness" of our classical music. It is this that makes it distinct, and endows it with a character different from other types of musical expression. We have in this country raginis

appropriate for all the hours of the day and for the varied seasons of the year. I am not certain whether every one will feel equally impressed by their appositeness in every particular instance... Be that as it may, there is a music that rings from season to season, age to age, always new and perennially fresh, in the salon of the inner chambers where the Lord of the World relaxes by Himself. Our mætros appear to have listened to this music with the ears of their soul. There is, behind the outward manifestation of nature, a soul of the morning. Our Todi and Kānādā are concerned with this soul."

- IV. "Rapid change of movement or tāla is a means of conveying feeling of joy. Movement must keep pace with the fluctuating emotions—its rapidity or slowness should reflect or match the feeling. It is not necessary that the tempo should be uniform."
- "Where exactly lies the difference and contrast between V. our indigenous music and western music? The main difference is concerned with those extra-fine semi-tones which we call Sruti. It is this factor which determines not only the relative positions but also the actual relationship between one note and another. It is a kind of blood relation, which if it be severed, is bound to change the character of the ragas and raginis even if they are spared their actual existence. The particular type of instrumental music which was evolved under the name of concerts, is a case in point. In this type of music the notes set up a kind of staccato dance—oblivious of that element of correlationship which endows music with its depth. These disparate notes may be made to play in a variety of ways. They may be made use of to evoke certain kinds of human emotions like

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excitement, exhilaration, banter, etc. But the innovations can have no place in that heaven of perfection where the ragas and raginis occupy positions of dignity."

-Extracted from Centenary Number:
RABINDRANATH TAGORE,
1861-1961, published by Sangeet
Natak Akademi, New Delhi, 1961,
pp. 103, 104, 106, 107.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

EVOLUTION OF THE MUSIC-PARTS

The 'music-part' is known as a unit or division of songs (prabandha-gītis). It is known by different names, dhātu, amsa, kali, tuka, bhāga, etc. The prabandha type of songs are known by their harmonious combination of words (sāhitya) and tunes (rāga), together with metres, rhythms and tempi. It is systematically composed according to the śāstric rules of the 'highway' i.e. classical type of music. Śārangadeva said: 'prakrsto Yasya bandhah syāt sa prabandho nigadyate'. The present classical type music of both Northern and Southern systems are known as the nibaddha-prabandha gitis. Śārangadeva said that the prabandha type of music is divided into three classes:2 sūda, mārga-sūda, ālī or ālī-samšrita and viprakīrņa. They are again of two types, pure (śuddha) and mixed (miśrita). The prabandhas are of different forms with different names. A prabandha-giti is possessed of five jātis, and they are: medinī, nandinī, dipanī, pāvanī, and tārāvalī. These are known as jātis because of their particular form and definite character. Bharata described jātis in connection with the classical dhruvā type of dramatic songs (nātyagīti). Bharata said that jātis evolved from vittas, and vittas are spun out of different numbers of letters: 'iātayo vṛttasambhavāḥ' (NS. 32.286).3 Again each jāti consists of three vittas, and they are: guru-prāya, laghu-prāya, and guru-laghu-akşaraprāva:

Sarvāsāmeva jātīnām trividam vṛtta-miṣyate / Guruprāyam laghuprāyam guru-laghakṣaram tathā // NS. 32.394

- 1. प्रकृष्टी यहम बन्धः स्यात् स प्रवन्धो निगचते ।
- 2. प्रबन्धास्त्रिविधाः।
- 3. जातयो वृत्त-संभवाः ।—नाट्यशास्त्र ३२।२८६
- 4. सर्वासामेव जातीनां त्रिविधं वृत्तमिष्यते। गुरुप्रार्यं लघुप्रायं गुरुलघक्षरं तथा ॥

The jātis are connected with the dhruvās. The Vedic metres are life-force (prāṇa) and indispensible parts (aṅga) of the jātis. Kātyāyana said in the Sarvānukramaṇi (middle of the fourth century B.C.): atha chandāṁṣe-gāyatruṣṇiganuṣtuva-vṛhatī-paṅkti-triṣtuva-jagatyatijagatī - sakkaryatiṣakkaryaṣtyatyaṣti-dhr-tyatidhrtaḥ'. That is, chandas are: gāyatrī, uṣṇka, anuṣṭupa, vṛhatī, paṅkti, triṣtuva, jagatī, atijagatī, ṣakkarī, atiṣakkarī, aṣti, atyaṣti, dhṛti, atidhṛti, etc. Ṣadguruṣiṣya wrote his commentary, Vedārthadīpikā, in the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. He elaborately described the metres, together with kṛti, prakṛti, ākṛtī, saṃkṛti, abhikṛti, and utkṛti. These metres were used in the jātis. The jātis are: ayukta, pratiṣṭḥā, madhya-gāyatrī, chapalā, udgāta, dhṛti, etc.

The nibaddha-prabandha-gītis had their origin in the post-Vedic classical padas (padagānas), which have been elaborately dealt with by Bharata in the Nātyaśāstra. Now, what are the padas? Bharata said that which is composed of letters, is known as 'pada': 'yat kiñchidakṣara-kṛtaṃ tat-sarvaṃ padasaṃjñitam'.' The padas make the gāndharva type of music manifest, and they are known as vastu: 'padaṃ tasya bhavet-vastu svara-tālānubhāvakam'.

The padas are divided into two classes, nibaddha and anibaddha. They were further classified into two, satāla (with time-measures) and atāla (without time-measures). The nibaddha type of prabandha with time-measures (satālā) is known as ālaptī or ālāpa, and anibaddha type of prabandha, without time-measures (atāla) is called sārthaka i.e. meaningful gānas, composed of letters,

^{5.} अय छन्दांशे गायत्र क्रियमतुष्ट ववृहतीपङ्क्ति-त्रिष्ट वजगत्यतिजगती-शक्कर्यति-शक्कर्यष्टत्यष्टियभूत्यतिभृतः।

^{6.} Vide Sarvānukramaņi, edited by A. A. Macdonell (Oxford, 1886), p. 77.

^{7.} यत् किञ्चदशरकृतं तत्सर्वं पदसंष्ठितम् ।

[—]नाट्यशास्त्र ३२।२६

^{8.} पदं तस्य भवेत वस्तु स्वर-तालानुभावकम्।

Metres, and jāti. Both the types of prabandha-gīti are possessed of different parts or limbs (angas or dhātus) like svara, viruda, pada, tenaka, pāta, and tāla. Though these parts or limbs convey different meanings, yet they make the prabandha-gītis significant.

Now, how the music-parts (dhātus) came into being? the Vedic period, the sāmagānas were sung with five bhaktis, and they were: himkāra, udgītha, prastāva, pratihāra and nidhāna. Sometimes two more bhaktis, pranava and upadrava, were added. The bhaktis were also known as vibhaktis or vidhās. Besides the sāmans, there were śastras (য়स्त्र) which were sung in tune. The rks or stanzas of the śastras were known as āhāra, first rk, middle rk, last rk, and then vasatkāra. The five parts (angas) of the sāmans, himkāra ungītha, etc. corresponded to the five rks or stanzas of the śastras. Those five parts of the sāmans were generally meant for invoking the five deities, who were in the form of mantras. The sāmans were sung (or chanted) sometimes by prastotā, udgātā and pratihāra, and sometimes by four Brāhmiņs, including the presiding Brāhmiņ, Brahmā, who was possessed of knowledge in the four Vedas. Śārangadeva said that the five angas of the Vedic sāmagāna, prastāva, udgītha, pratihāra, upadrava and nidhāna were afterwards transformed into five dhātus of the post-Vedic classical gānas, and they were udgrāha, anudgrāha, sambandha, dhruvaka and ābhoga. Again the first part, himkara together with pranava or omkara were used in the classical music as the supplement to the time-unit or kalā. Śārangadeva said,

Brahmaṇā cha purā gītaṃ prastāvodgīthakau tathā / Pratihāropadravau cha nidhānaṃ pañchamaṃ mataṃ // Tato hiṁkāraḥ oṁkāra saptāṅgānīti tatra tu / Udgrāhaḥ syādanudgrāhaḥ samvandho dhruvakastathā // Ābhogaścheti pañchānāmādyānāmabhidhā kramāt Hiṁkāroṁkārayostatra kalā-pūrakatā matā //9

9. ब्रह्मणा च पुरा गोतं प्रस्ताबोद्गोधकौ तथा। प्रतिहारोपद्रवी च निधानं पञ्चमं मत ॥ Sārangadeva quoted Brahmā, the first and foremost musicologist of the pre-Christian era. Perhaps he was the author of the Brahmabharatam, and flourished in the 600-500 B.C. said that Brahmā or Brahmābharata introduced five dhātus or music-parts in the gandharva type of music, as five angas were current in the Vedic music with some changed names. example,

prastāva. udgitha, pratihāra, upadrava. nidhāna udgrāha, melāpaka, dhruvaka, ābhogs antara.

It should be remembered that the dhātus like udgrāha or udgrāhaka, etc. are the music-parts of the post-Vedic prabandhagītis. The dhātu, dhrūva or dhruvaka is used as the intermediary part (amsa) between melāpaka and ābhoga, and antara occurs in between dhruva and ābhoga. Antara is sometimes omitted. Sarangadeva described those music-parts in the prabandha chapter of the Sangīta-Ratnākara. He said,

Prabandhāvayavo dhātuḥ sa chaturdhā10 nirūpitaḥ / Udgrāhah prathamastatra tato melāpakadhruvau // Abhogascheti teşām cha kramāllakṣābhidadhmahe / Udgrāhah prathamo bhāgastato melāpakah smṛtah // Dhruvatvāchcha dhruvah paśchādābhogastvantimo matah / Dhruvābhogāntare jāto dhāturaņyo'ntarā-bhidhaḥ //11

वतो हिंकारः ओङ्कार सप्ताङ्वानीति तत्र तु। उद्याहः स्यादनुद्याहः सम्बन्धो ध वकस्तथा ॥ आभोगश्चेति पञ्चनामाद्यानामभिधा क्रमात्। हिंकारोंकारयोस्तत्र कलापूरकता मता।।

10. Śārangadeva did not recognise antarā as a separate dhātu.

11. प्रवन्धावयवो धातुः स चतुर्धा निरूपितः । उद्गाहः प्रथमस्तत्र ततो मेलापकध्रुवी ॥ आभोगश्चेति तेषां च कमाल्लक्षाभिदृध्महे। उद्याहः प्रभमो भागस्ततो मेलापकः स्मृतः ।। ध वत्वाच्च धूवः पश्चादाभोगस्त्विन्तमो मतः। ध्रवाभोगान्तरे जातो धातुरण्योऽन्तराभिधः॥

—सङ्घीत-रत्नाकर ४।०-६

Simhabhupāla said in the commentary: 'sa chatuṣprakāraḥ. Udgrāhakaḥ, melāpakaḥ, ābhogaḥ, antarascheti. * *Prabandhasya prathamo bhāga udgrāha ityuchyate. Dvitīyo bhāgo melāpakaḥ. Trtīyo bhāgo dhruvaḥ. * * Udgrāhāntaramābhogāntaram cha gānādantimo bhāgaḥ ābhogaḥ. * * Dhruvasya ābhogasya cha madhye'ntarākhyaḥ pañchamo dhāturasti. * * Antarākhyo dhātur-na chatvāra eva dhātavaḥ'.¹² The names of the music-parts (dhātus) were probably changed into sthāyī, antarā, sañchārī, and ābhoga in the end of the eighteenth, or in the beginning of the nineteenth century A.D.

A rāga, constructed out of the succession of seven notes, manifests and develops itself in the music-part sthāyī.13 It is called sthāyī, because a rāga rests on it and makes itself manifest: -sthitatvāt sthāyī. Some are of the opinion that a rāga first takes its base or seat in the music part sthāyī, and then moves gradually towards the fifth and sixth notes, panchama and nisada of the middle octave, and then comes in contact with other notes, and touches the tonic (sadja) of the higher octave, and rests on the sonant (vādī-svara). Again, when the rāga develops itself in the second music-part, antara or antarā (i.e. the music-part that rests between sthayi and sanchari), it generally starts from the third note, gāndhāra (sometimes from the fourth and fifth, madhyama or panchama) of the middle octave and moves towards the high octave (tāra-saptaka). It moves sometimes upto rsabha, or gandhara or madhyama, and is fully manifested there, and then comes down to the tonic (sadja) of the middle octave. In the South Indian system, sthāyi is known as pallavi and antara as anupallavi. The word

- 12. स चतुष्प्रकारः । उद्याहकः, मेलापकः, आभोगः, अन्तरश्चेति । * * प्रवन्धस्य प्रथमो भाग उद्याहः इत्युच्यते । द्वितीयो भागो मेलापकः । तृतीयो भागो धुवः ।
 * * उद्याहान्तरमाभोगान्तरं च गानादन्तिमो भागः आभोगः । * * धुवस्य आभोगस्य च मध्येऽन्तरात्व्यः पञ्चमो धातुरस्ति । * * अन्तरात्व्यो धातुर्नं चत्वार एव धातवः ।
- 13. Sthāyī is sometimes pronounced as ā-sthāyī. In Sanskrit and Hindi, it is pronounced as ā-sthāyī. But it should be correctly pronounced as sthāyī, and not ā-sthāyī.

'pallavi' connotes the idea of seed or offspring. Antara is called anupallavi, because it comes after (anu) pallavi. So the word pallavi indicates the beginning of the song, whereas anu-pallavi conveys the idea of sprout. Fox-Strangway called pallavi a 'germ', 'sprout—first subject' or 'at home', and anupallavi an 'after-germ-second, subject', or 'interval, change of voice of register', etc.

The music-part sthāyī or pallavi makes manifest the rāga, and antara or anupallavi sustains it. Sometimes it is said that the notes of the first music-part sthāyī are sustained in the middle octave. The notes of the second music-part antara or antarā help the notes of the first music-part (sthāyī) to gradually play in the high octave. In the chapter of varṇa (varṇa-prakaraṇa), the first varṇa is known as sthāyī, which helps to make manifest the song (gīta): 'yat gītam varṇābhivyākti-krt'.¹4 It is similar to udgrahaka or udgrāha, the first part (dhātu) of the prabandha music, to some extent.

It is said that the consonant (samvādī) notes are profusely used in the second music-part antara or antarā. But from the viewpoint of elaboration of the notes (svara-vistāra), this process is more adopted in sthāyī than antarā, because it is very difficult to elaborate the notes from the middle octave to the high one.

The fourth music-part ābhoga is considered as the complement to the third one, sanchārī—'abhogah paripūrņatā', and, in that case, antarā or to both sthāyī and antarā. In some sthāyī and antarā, appears as the complement to sthāyī. But when a song is composed of four parts, sthāyī, antarā sanchārī and ābhoga, we consider sanchārī as both the counterpart of and the complement to sthāyī, and ābhoga as those of antarā. In fact, sanchārī and ābhoga are repetitions of sthāyī, antarā is the sustainer of and the complement to sthāyī, antarā is the sustainer of and the complement to sthāyī, antarā is the sustainer of and the complement to sthāyī, antarā is the sustainer of and the complement to sthāyī.

^{14.} यत् गोतं वर्णाभिवयक्तिकृत्।

It is interesting to note that the word 'antara' or 'antara' is almost absent in the pre-Ratnākara works. Paṇḍit Ahobala (1700 century A.D.) said in connection with the division of the nibaddha gītis in his Sangīta-pārijāta.

Ādya udgrāhako jñeyo melāpaka-staduttaraḥ / Trtīyo dhruva-samjñāh syādantarah syāchchaturthakah / Ābhogaḥ pañchamabhāgaḥ · · · · //15

A nibaddha-gīti is divided into five parts, and they are: udgrāhaka, melāpaka, dhruva, antara and ābhoga. The udgrāhaka is the first part, the second part is melāpaka, the third part is dhruva, the fourth part is antara, and the fifth part is abhoga. Antara and antara are one and the same. Pandit Ahobala divided the music-parts into five, following the method of the ancient musicologists.16 From this it is understood that the five divisions existed before Pandit Ahobala (1700 A.D.), and by 'pūrvasūribhih', he meant Śārangadeva and others. It has already been said that though Sarangadeva admitted in the Sangita-Ratnākara: 'prabandhāvayavo dhātu sa chaturdhā nirūpitah', yet he recognized antara as dhātu, in between the parts, dhruva and ābhoga: 'dhruvābhogāntare jāto dhāturanyo'ntarābhidhah' (4.9). Kallinath said : 'dhruvabhogantare dhruvabhogayormadhye jata utpanno nirmita ityarthah'. Śārangadeva further admitted that the music part antara or antara is used in the salagasuda-prabandha and rūpaka-prabandha: 'sa tu sālagasūdastha rūpakeşveva drsyate'.17 Kallinath further said : 'atra drsyata iti drsi-grahanena dhruvādişvapi yatra chirantana-prayogādantaro dr stānta-tattraiva

15. आद्य उद्याहको हो यो मेलापकस्तदुत्तरः। विश्वकृति तृतीयो अ व-संज्ञाः स्याद्न्तरः स्याच्चतुर्थकः । जाल विक्रम का प्रकार किनामीमा आभीगः पञ्चमभागः को। केनस्थके काम। एकप्रीमास्य क्षेत्रकार-मह प्रकृति । कि

- 17. स तु सालगसूड्स्थ-रूपकेट्वेव दृश्यते । हा हा अक्टाइन्डिसिटी सार —सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर ४।६

kāryo nānyalreti niyamāntara-syāpi sūchitatvānmaņļhādişu daršanāttatraiva kārya'.18 He meant to say that though dhruva functions as antara from very ancient times, yet it is used separately in the prabandha like manth, etc. In fact, the musicpart dhruva has been divided into two, dhruva and antara or antarā, and antara is used alternately (vikalpe). The seven types of vinnā, etc. rāgagītis, and īk, pānika, etc. brahmagītis were also divided into four parts instead of five. The commentator Simhabhupāla said: 'Prabandhasya prathamo bhāga udgrāha îtyuchyate. Dvitîya-bhago melapakah. Trtiyo bhago dhruvah. Tasyadhruva-sabdasya vyutpattistu dhruvatvānnischalatvāditi. Udgrāhānantaramābhogānantaram cha gānādantimo bhāgo ābhogaḥ. dhruvasya ābhogasya cha madye'ntarākhyah pañchamo dhāturasti. Tat-katham panchadheti noktamata aha-sa tviti. dhātur-na sarvatra prabandheşu. Kim tu sālagasūda-prabandheşveva, Tatascha 'sarveşu prabandheşu'. Chatvara eva dhatavah.19

So we find that the music-part antara or antarā is used in the sālaga-sūda-prabandha-gītis, otherwise the four parts, udgrāha, melāpaka, dhruva and ābhoga, have been accepted in the system of ancient classical gandharva and dest types of music. The part antara is also known as 'upantara'. In truth, antara was not used generally by the ancient artists and musicologists as dhruva used to function for it. Kallināth said : 'sakṛd-viratirudgrāho'ntarah tu akṣara-nirmitah.'20 He further said on the śloka 4.8 of the Sangita-Ratnākara: 'anena gānakāle dhruvasyādavrttişu krtāşu.21 It is clear from the following lines of Śārangadeva:

18. अत्र हर्यत इति हथि-प्रहणेन धुवादिष्वपि यत्र चिरन्तनप्रयोगाद्गतरो हृशान्त तत्र व कार्यो नान्यत्रे ति नियमान्तरस्यापि सुचितत्वान्मण्ठादिषु दर्शनात्तत्र व कार्य।

^{19.} प्रवन्धस्य प्रथमो भाग उद्याह इत्युच्यते । द्वतीय भागो मेलापकः । तृतीय भागो थुवः। तस्य थुन-शब्दस्य ब्युतप्तिस्तु थुनत्वान्त्रिश्चलत्वादिति। उदग्राहानन्तरमाभोगान्वरं च गानादन्तिमी भागो आभोगः। * * धुवस्य आभोगस्य च मद्येन्तराख्यः पञ्जमो भातुरस्ति । तत कथं पञ्चभेति नोक्तमत आह—स त्विति । अन्तराख्यो भातुर्न सर्वत्र प्रवन्धेषु । किंतु सालगसूद्रप्रवन्धेष्वेव । तत्रश्च 'सर्वेषु प्रवन्धेषु' । चत्वार एव धातवः।

^{20.} सकृद्धिरतिरुद्याहोऽन्तरः तु अक्षरिनिर्मतः।

^{21.} अनेन गानकाले धुवस्यादवृत्तिषु कृताषु * *।

Dhruva-statastatra pūrvameka-dhātupadadvayam //
Bhinna-dhātu tṛtīyam syādābhogastadanantaram //
Geyo vāggeyakāreņa svābhidhāna-vibhūşitah //²²

Simhabhupāla said that instead of four, three music-parts were also used in a prabandha-gīti. Some other music-parts were mentioned in the Sangīta-Ratnākara, but usually, said Kallināth, four music-parts were accepted, as antara was used exclusively in the mantha class of the gītis: 'yatra cirantana-prayogādantaro drṣtaḥ'.23

Paṇḍit Dāmodara followed the method of Śāraṅgadeva.

He said in the Sangita-darpana:

Dhātuḥ prabandhāvayavaḥ sa-chodgrāhādi bhedataḥ / Chaturdhā kathito bhāgastvādyo udgrāhasamjñakaḥ // Ādāvudgrhyate-gītaṃ yenodgrāhastadā bhavet / Melāpako dvitīyastūdgrāha-dhruvaka-melanāt // Dhruvatvād-dhruva-samjñastu tṛtīyo bhāga uchyate / Ābhogastvantimo bhāgo gīta-pūrṇatva-sūchakaḥ //

Dhruvābhogāntare kaiśchit dhāturuktontarābhidhaḥ |24 Paṇḍit Dāmodara regarded udgrāha as the first part ('ārambhaka'), and ābhoga as the last one, and antarā as an intermediary part between dhruva and ābhoga of the prabandha type of songs. He, therefore, recognized only four music-parts, udgrāha, melāpaka, dhruva, and ābhoga.

- 22. धुनस्ततस्तत्र पूर्वमेकधातुपदद्वयं।
 भिन्नधातु तृतीयं स्यादाभोगस्तदनन्तरं।
 गेयो वाग्गेयकारेण स्वाभिधानविभृषितः॥ —सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर ४।३७-३८
- 23. यत्र चिरन्तर प्रयोगादन्तरो हृष्टः।
- 24. धातुः प्रवन्धावयवः स चोद्ग्राहादि भेदतः ।
 चतुर्धा कथितो भागस्त्वाद्यो उद्ग्राहसंज्ञकः ।।
 बादाबुदगृह्यते गीतं येनोद्ग्राहस्तदा भवेत ।
 मेलापको द्वितीयस्तुदग्राहधुवकमेलनात ।।
 धवत्वाद्धवसंज्ञस्तु तृतीयो भाग उच्यते ।
 बाभोगस्त्वन्तिमो भागो गीतपूर्णत्वसूचकः ॥
 धवाभोगान्तरे कैश्चित धातुरुक्तोन्तराभिधः ।।

Paṇḍit Śrīnivāsa (early eighteenth century) accepted four music-parts or limbs in the Rāgatattvavibodha. Śrīnivāsa said,

Ādāvūdgṛhyate yena sa tānodgrāha-samjñakaḥ /
Ādyantayośchaniyamastāne yatra prajāyate //
Sthāyītānaḥ sa vijñeyo lakṣya-lakṣaṇakovidaiḥ /
Sañchārī tu sa vijñeyaḥ sthāpyāroha-vimiśritaḥ //
Yatra rāgasya viśrānti samāptidyotako hi saḥ //
25

According to Śrīnivāsa, music-parts are four in number, and they are udgrāha, sthāyī, saūchārī, and dyotaka. He flourished between Ahobala and Bhāvabhatta, the author of Anupasangitavilāsa. It is interesting to note that Śrīnivāsa was a staunch follower of Ahobala and borrowed many materials from Ahobala's Sangīta-pārijāta. Bhāvabhatta was a follower of Śrīnivāsa and incorporated many materials in his Anupasangītavilāsa from Śrīnivāsa's Rāgatattvavibodha. But he differed from Śrīnivāsa regarding the names and numbers of the music-parts. Śrīnivāsa did not recognize antara or antarā as a part. He rather combined the chapters on varņa (varņālamkāra) and rāga (prabandha) together and accepted sthāyī as the second part which seems quite different from the divisions, made by other musicologists.

Now, let us see how the music-part (dhātu) antara or antarā was recognized as an indispensible part (or limb) of the nibaddha-gītis. It was also used as an alternative part to dhruva, during Dāmodara's time (1625 A.D.). He said that 'some dhātu like antara is also referred' to: 'kaśchiddhāturuktaḥ.'27

- 25. आदावृदगृह्यते येन स तानोदग्राहसंज्ञकः । आचन्तयोधनियमस्ताने यत्र प्रजायते ॥ स्थायौतानः स विद्वेयः लक्ष्य-लक्षणकोविदैः । सञ्चारी तु स विज्ञेयः स्थाप्यारोहिबिमिश्रितः ॥ यत्र रागस्य विश्रान्ति समाग्निचोतको हि सः ।
- 26. Unfortunately the complete printed book is not yet available. But it is sure that Pandit Ahobala wrote the Pārijāta, dealing with all the topics on svara, rāga, prabandha, vādya, nātya and nītya.
 - 27. कश्चिद्धातुरुक्तः।

It has already been said that Kallinath admitted the alternative (vikalpa) use of antarā, as he admitted : 'anena gāna-kāle dhruvasyā'vṛttiṣu kṛtāsu,28 i.e. when antarā is used, dhruva remains But this practice has not been accepted by most of the post-Śārangadeva authors, and some have rather omitted antarā instead of dhruva.

Venkatamakhī also admitted the four music-parts, in the Chaturdandiprakāśikā (1620 A.D.) like his predecessors. He

said,

Dhāturnāma prabandhasyāvayavah sa chaturvidhah / Udgrāhah prathamastatra tato melāpakadhruvau // Ābhogaśchetyathaiteṣām

The part ābhoga completes the prabandha-giti-'prabandhasya yadābhogam paripūrtim karoti tat'.30 He also mentioned the part antarā in between dhruva and ābhoga: 'dhruvābhogāntare jāto yatastenāntarābhidhah'.31 He said that antarā may be recognized

as the fifth music-part, if necessary.

So it seems that the divisions of the parts sthayi, antara, sanchari and abhoga are the products of the nineteenth century. Sir S. M. Tagore mentioned these particular names of the music-parts in his article, Hindu Music, published in the journal Hindu Patriot, in 1874. Sir William Jones admitted these names in his monograph: On the Musical Modes of Hindoos, published in 1784 Captain Willard recognized them. Rādhā Mohan Sen also mentioned these names in his Sangita-taranga, published in 1818. He defined dhātu as toka i.e. tuka, or amśa, or bhāga. He said.

Toker viśeşa nāma śuna mahāśaya // Prathama toker nāma ūrdhagraha vale /

- अनेन गानकाले ध्रुवस्याऽवृत्तिषु कृतासु । 🌐 🙀 🙌 🏥
- धातुर्नाम प्रवन्धस्यावयवः स चतुर्विधः। 29. उद्ग्राहः प्रथमस्तत्र ततो मेलापक-ध्रुवौ ॥ आमोगप्रचेत्यथैतेषां
- 30. प्रवन्धस्य यदाभोगं परिपुर्ति करोति तत् ।
- ध वाभोगान्तरे जातो यतस्तेनान्तराभिधः।

Athavā asthāyī nāma—kahena sakale //
Dvitīya toker nāma milā-kuka māni /
Trtīya toker nāma āntara vākhāni //
Chaturthete bhāga āra pañchame ābhoga /
Bhogere ābhoga vale, ābhogere bhoga //
Chāri-toka dhruvapada kahilāma yāya /
Milākuka nāme toka nāhika tāhāya //
Asthāyī uṭḥive tāra-kharaja upare /
Dharive antarā pare rikhābher ghare //
Gāndhāre dharive bhoga,—ābhoga madhyame /
Chāri toka dhruvapada erupa niyame //32

He described the special name of toka i.e. tuka or music-part. A dhruvapada is consisted of four music-parts, and the first one is $\bar{u}rdhagr\bar{a}ha$ (?) i.e. $udgr\bar{a}ha$. Or this part is known to all as a-sth $\bar{a}y\bar{\imath}$: i.e. $sth\bar{a}y\bar{\imath}$. The second one is known as $mil\bar{a}kuka$, i.e. $mel\bar{a}paka$, the third one is $antar\bar{a}$, the fourth one is bhoga, and the fifth one is $\bar{a}bhoga$. But, in truth, bhoga is known as $\bar{a}bhoga$ and vice-versa. They are the tokas i.e. tukas or parts of the dhruvapada. $Mil\bar{a}kuka$ or $mel\bar{a}paka$ is now out of practice. The notes of a- $sth\bar{a}y\bar{\imath}$ begin from kharaja i.e. sadja, and that of

32. तोकेर विशेष नाम शुन महाशय।।
प्रथम तोकेर नाम ऊर्ज ग्रह वले।
अथवा अस्थायी नाम—कहेन सकले।।
दितीय तोकेर नाम मिलाकुक मानि।
तृतीय तोकेर नाम आन्तर वाखानि।।
चतुर्थेते भाग आर पञ्चमे आभोग।
भोगेरे आभोग वले, आभोगेरे भोग।।
चारि-तोक धुवपद कहिलाम याय।
मिलाकुक नामे तोक नाहिक ताहाय।।
अस्थायी उठिवे तार-खरज उपरे।
धरिवे अन्तरा परे रिखावेर घरे।।
गान्धारे धरिवे भोग,—आभोग मध्यमे।
चारि तोक धुवपद एरूप नियमे।।

antara from rikhābha i.e. rṣabha. The notes of the part bhoga rise from gāndhāra, and that of ābhoga rise from madhyama.

The Sangīta-taranga of Rādhā Mohan Sen is an authentic Bengali book on music. Probably for want of proper knowledge in Sanskrit, some of the technical names of the music materials have been mutilated. But the reason for the adoption of new names, a-sthāyī or āsthāyī33, bhoga, etc. has not been given by him. The radical musicians and musicologists of the twentieth century newly reformed the arrangement of the microtones, rāgas, parent scales or melas, tonal forms or svararūpas, sonant (vādī), tānas, dhātus, etc. in the North Indian system of music. We do not know as to why udgrāha and melāpaka were replaced by sthāyī and antarā. If we investigate into the matter from historical standpoint we find that udgrāha is the first music-part of the prabandha chapter, from where the song begins, and sthayi is the first part of the varna chapter, where the song takes its stand and begins to manifest. So the significance of both the parts of two different chapters are almost the same. Paņdit Viṣṇunārāyaṇa Bhātkhaṇḍe adopted the present modified system of the music-parts, and said, 'प्रवन्ध के भिन्न भिन्न भाग अथवा अवयव रहते थे जिन्हें धातु कहते थे। इन धातुओं के नाम

'प्रवन्ध के भिन्न भिन्न भाग अथवा अवयव रहते थे जिन्हें धातु कहते थे। इन धातुओं के नाम 'प्रवन्ध के भिन्न भिन्न भाग अथवा अवयव रहते थे जिन्हें धातु कहते थे। इन धातुओं के नाम रत्नाकरमे इस प्रकार दिये हैं — उद्ग्राह, मेलापक, ध्रुव, अन्तरा और आभोग। आजकल रत्नाकरमे इस प्रकार दियाई नही देता। अतः इन प्राचीन धातुओं को चर्चा करने से हमें प्रवन्धों का गायन कहीं दिखाई नही देता। अतः इन प्राचीन धातुओं को चर्चा करने से हमें कोइ प्रयोजन नहीं हैं। जिस प्रकार हमारे आधुनिक गीतों में स्थायो, अन्तरा, सञ्चारो और आभोग इत्यादि धातु समभाना चाहिये।

That is, different parts of the prabandha-gāna are known as dhātus. In Ratnākara, they are called udgrāha, melāpaka, dhruva, antarā and ābhoga. Śāraṅgadeva also said that there was a type of music, known as dhruva containing four music-parts. This dhruva may be recognized as the forerunner of the modern dhruvapada. The first part of the dhrupapada was known as udgrāha which is similar to the part, sthāyī of the modern times. The second part of this dhruva music was sung higher

^{33.} It has already been said that the correct name is sthay?.

than the first part, as Simhabhupāla said : 'kiñchiduccham khandam antarākhyām kartavyam'. From the commentary of Simhabhupāla it is understood that the name of the second part was antara. But it is not correct, as the name of the second part was melāpaka even during Simhabhupāla time (1330 A.D.). Antara was the fourth part that occurred between dhruva and ābhoga. However, the third part of the dhruva type of prabandha music used to be represented as the first one, and the fourth part, as the second one. Nowadays the practice of sastric prabandha type of the gītis is almost obsolete, so ancient dhātus like udgrāha, etc. have no utility. In the modern system of music, the four dhatus: sthāyī, antarā, sanchārī and ābhoga are used. But Pandit Bhātkhandeji remained silent about the reason for change that took place in the field of the dhātus. It is probable that there was a great interchange between the two chapters, varna and prabandha. The varna chapter is possessed of four parts, sthāyī, sanchāri, ārohi and avarohi, and the prabandha chapter consists mainly of four parts, udgrāha, melāpaka, dhruva, and ābhoga. It has already been said that Pandit Śrīnivāsa (early eighteenth century) adopted in his system some modified music-parts like udgrāha, sthāyī, sañchārī, and dyotaka. So it seems that the music-society of the early twentieth century had a tendency to adopt a new process, regarding the music-parts, and so they adopted sthāyī and sanchārī from the varņa chapter, and antarā and abhoga from the prabandha one, so as to complete the system.

It is true that the radicalists have given some new significances to their new devised music-parts. They said that sthāyī means the first music-part that helps to manifest music. In the varņa chapter, Matanga said: 'yad gītam varņābhivyaktikrt yatra pade sa varņah sthāyītyuchyate'34, i.e. as varņa manifests the song, so it is called sthāyī. Antarā suggests the part that lies after sthāyī. Therefore the word antarā signifies the idea of 'next to sthāyī'. But in the prabandha chapter, it has been defined as the part

^{34.} यद गीतं वर्णाभिन्यक्तिकृत यत्र पदे स वर्णः स्थायीत्युच्यते ।

that originates in between (antare) the parts, dhruva and ābhoga: 'dhruvābhogāntare jāto dhāturanyo'ntarābhidhah'.35 Perhaps the radicalists had adopted the word antarā that lies between the parts, third and fourth, and then explained it as the next part to sthāyī. The word sanchārī means the movement of the notes which manifest the melody or song. In the varna chapter, said Matanga, it signifies the meaning, 'yatra gite sancharanti svarāh paraspara-mantarasahitā ekaikaso vā sanchārī varņa uchyate'.36 The part ābhoga means that which completes the manifestation of the melody, and consequently, of the song : 'abhogah paripūrņatā'.37 Kallināth said, 'antimo dhātuh prabandhasya paripūrņahetutvādābhoga iti kāraņe kāryopachāra uktah'.38 The radicalists also adopted this part having the same meaning.

35. ध वाभोगान्तरे जातो धातुरन्योऽन्तराभिधः।

- रत्नाकर ४१६

यत्र गीते सञ्चरन्ति स्वराः परस्परमन्तरसहिता एकैकशो वा सञ्चारी वर्ण उच्यते। 36.

आभोगः परिपूर्ण ता । 37.

अन्तीमो धातुः प्रबन्धस्य परिपुण हेतुस्वादाभोग इति कारणे कार्योपचार उक्तः। 38.

CHAPTER TWELVE

DEVELOPMENT OF CLASSICAL MUSIC AND MUSICAL LITERATURE OF BENGAL

I

Development of Classical Music

Bengal has produced thousands of personalities in all the spheres of activities, social, political, historical, literary, musical, and æsthetic. Thousands of music lovers, artists, composers, and authors were born on the soil of Bengal, who lived in music, breathed the air and atmosphere of music, and enriched the golden treasure of Indian music. The geographical boundary of ancient Bengal was not so limited as we find today, but it included Girivaraja (Behar), Kalinga (Utkal or Orissa) and Kāmarūpa (Assam) including Trihut. The classical music or art song was extensively cultured throughout the vast area of Bengal, making it compatible with innumerable types of regional music or folk songs that animated and elevated the daily lives of the plain living rural people.

The State patronage was always behind the healthy culture of music. The rich Zeminder classes also lent a helping hand to preserve and develop it. In the Gupta period (320-600 A.D.) there had been an upsurge of musical culture. Samudragupta was a great patron of this cultural effloresence, as evidenced by his lyrists type of copper coin. Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (380-423 A.D.) was reputed to have been an adept and he composed many metrical works of great value. The Pāla and Sena Rulers also followed the ideals of the Gupta Emperors. In the recent archæological discoveries at Maināmatī and Lāmāi Hills, interesting objects like Kinnaras, horse-headed Tumburu, semi-divine Gandharvas with damaru, ghadā (picher), flute and drums of different sizes have been found. Many figures of musicians and typical musical instruments like cymbal, gong, trumpet, lyre, mrdanga and veenā have

been excavated from the mounds of Pāhārpur. All of them undoubtedly prove that the people of Bengal under Pāla and Sena rules, could boast of a healthy culture of music with keen artistic sense and beauty. Bengal is regarded as the 'Land of Music' for more than a thousand years. Leaving aside the music culture of Bengal during the rules of the Gupta and Pāla dynasties, we find genuine evidence of the culture of classical type of music i.e. rāga-sangīta in the tenth-eleventh century A.D., when the Buddhist monks and Yogis composed the charyāgītis and vajragītis on occasions of religious celebrations and secret functions of mandala-chakra. Those gitis were the precious treasure of Bengal (nadīmātṛkā Bangālā), and they were written in avahatta language, making them compatible with the temperament and sentiment of the classical ragas like rāmakrī, bhairavī, kāmoda, mallārī, mālasī or mālasrī, patamanjarī, deśākha, varādī dhvakrī, dhānasī or dhānasrī, vangāl, śāvarī or saverī or srāberī, gauda, mālasī-gauda, etc. The gītis were accompanied by veenā, ektāra venu, and mrdanga. Different intricate tālas like indratāla, yatitāla etc. were used in those gītis. Different numbers of the line of the charyā and vajra gītis were systematized with two, three or four dhātus (music-parts), and the second, or the fourth dhātu, formed the bhanitā. The Buddhist charyā and vajra gītis of Bengal were recognized as the nibaddha-prabandha-gitis. They were composed in some suggestive (ābhiprāyika) language, known as sandhyā-bhāṣā.

After Vallālasena, Lakṣmaṇasena, his son and general, were devoted to music and Sanskrit learning. The book Sadūkti-karṇāmṛta of Śrīdharadāsa relates the fact that like Umāpatidhara, Govardhana, Śaraṇa and Dhoyī, Jayadeva of the Gītagovinda was also a court-poet of Rājā Lakṣmaṇsena. It is said that Lakṣmaṇasena was very fond of nātagīti, and there was special arrangements for performances of nātagīti every evening in his Royal Court. It is said that both Jayadeva and his devoted consort Padmāvatī were experts in music and dance. In the book Sekaśubhodaya of Nata-s Gango or Gangoka, we find that Vuḍḥanamiśra and his wife Vidyut-

prabhā were also the court-Nata and Nati of Rajā Laksmanasena. At that time the dancing girls (devadāsis) were engaged in every temples of Vișņu, Siva, and Kārtikeya. In Dhoyi's Pavanadūtam, we find the mention of these temple-dancing girls. In Rūparāma's Dharmamangala, we get references of natīnītyas in the temples of Bengal, Gauda, Dvārbhāngā, Mithila, Kamarupa, and Kalinga were the popular seats of culture of classical dance and music. Nepāl and Kāśmīr had received the impetus and inspiration of music and dance from Bengal. It is said that a dancing girl was sent by the Kāśmīr-Rāj to the Kārtikeya temple of Gauda, and there was a interchange of art and culture in between Kāśmīr and Gauda-Vanga. Music also travelled from Nepal and Kāśmīr to Khāsgarh, Bhūtān, Kuchi, Khotān, China, Japan, and Korea, through the medium of the Buddhist religious missionaries and traders. There was a direct route from Magadh to Tibet via Kāśmīr.

In the early twelfth century A.D., Kavi Jayadeva composed the Gitagovinda-padagītis. The current rāgas and tālas were incorporated in his padagitis. The tālas were mantha, yati, rūpaka, pratimantha and ekatālī, and their rhythmic patterns can easily be deciphered. The arrangements of the microtones in relation to seven notes were made according to the system, adopted by the Natyasastra of Bharata (second century A.D.). The standard pure scale (śuddha-mela) was perhaps similar to kāphī-mela of the present Hindusthānī system of music, and mukhārī of Vidyāranya's system. They were known as the systematized prabandha type of music, as they strictly followed different classical rāgas, tālas, dhātus, rasas and bhāvas. It is possible to determine the real forms of the ragas, current in Jayadeva's time (12th century A.D.) by comparing them with the melody-types (rāgas), as depicted in Kavi-Lochana's Rāgatarngiņī and Hṛdaya-nārāyaṇa's Hṛdayakautuka. Jayadeva probably followed the modes of singing (gāyāna-śailī) of the charyā and vajra gitis. It is said that the songs of the Gitagovinda were presented everyday in the temple of Jagannātha

at Puri by the temple-dancing girls (devadāsis) and the Brāhmiņs. They are still preserved in some of the South Indian temples in the form of classical kīrtana.

If we survey the culture of music during the time of Gupta, Pāla and Sena dynasties, we find that the rāgagītis were current almost everywhere in Bengal. The sāstric rules and injunctions of Bharata, Dattila, Kohala, Yāṣtika Shāṇḍilya, Nandikeśvara, Mataṅga were predominant in the domain of classical music. The classical types of music and dance which have been depicted in the mythico-historical Purāṇas like Mārkaṇḍeya, Vāyu, Agni, Viṣṇudharmottara and also in the classical Sanskrit dramas were cultured in Bengal. So the music culture of Bengal was in full accord with the rules and practices of the Indian system of music. Many regional types of music like dohā, chānchara, cchappāya, jhumrā, pānchālī, etc. were also current in different parts of Bengal.

The mangalagiti was very favourite to the people of Bengal.

The reference to 'gitamangala' is found in the great epics like Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, and classical dramas of Kālidāsa, Māgha, Bhāravi, and others. The mangalagiti perhaps evolved out of the gitamangala of the epics and the classical Sanskrit out of the gitamangala of the epics and the classical Sanskrit dramas. They were later on connected with many ballads and rural stories.

Beginning from the thirteenth to eighteenth century, i.e., from Vipradāsa's Manasāvijaya or Manasā-mangala to Bhārata-chandra's Annadāmangala, Bengal produced different kinds of giti together with mangalagīti. In the Sanskrit Purānas and Bengali Mangala-kāvyas, we find the influence of the gods and the goddesses upon mortal men. Astronomy also says that the planets have also influence on the living beings. In the Manasā-mangala, we find it in a different way, as Devi Manasā was always ignored by Chānd-Sadāgara. Bengal preserved the tradition of culture of different types of krsna-kīstana, kālī-

^{1.} Vide S. Prajfiananda: Historical Study of Indian Music, Appendix II.

kīrtana, and prabandhas like dvipadīkā, stapadī, pañchālikā, jambhalikā, kīrtigāna or padāvalī-kīrtana, etc. Sārangadeva describes in the fourth chapter of the Sangita-Ratnākara, the classical forms and characteristics of the gitis and ganas like manigala (4.303), mangalāchāra (4.297), dhavala (4.302), charyā (4.293), kirtilahari (4.23), charchari (4.290), karana or kirti or brahma and kambala etc. In the fourteenth-fifteenth century, Vadu Chandidāsa of Birbhūm, Vidyāpati, Umapātidhara and many other mystic Vaisnava poets composed padagitis in avahattha-bengali-maithili language. They were different rāgas and tālas, together with different rasas and bhāvas (emotional sentiments and moods). Those padagitis fully imbibed the atmosphere and spirit of classical music. They were possessed of different music-parts (dhātus), metres (chhandas), and three registers (sthānas) etc. The provinces of Nepāl and Trihuta were adjacent to Greater Bengal, and were influenced by the classical padagītis of Bengal.

The fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. was an epoch-making period. Sri Chaitanya of Navadvip (1485-1533 A.D.) brought about a renaissance in the domain of the padagitis in Bengal. He promulgated the nāma-kīrtana, following the current types of charya and gitagovinda. He sung kirtana within closed doors in Śrīvāsa's house at Navadvīp (Śrivāsa-ānginā) for the first time. The learned musicians Svarūpa-Dāmodara, Rāy Rāmānanda (of Orissa), Murārī-Gupta, and other Vaisņava savants always accompanied him. Svarūpa-Dāmodara was an expert in both the arts of playing mrdanga and classical music. From Krsnadāsa's Gītāprakāśa (16th century A.D.) and Kavi-Nārāyaṇa's Sangitasarani (16th-17th century A.D.) and Ravi-Italia. Rav Daniel (16th-17th century A.D.), we come to know that Rāy Rāmānanda was well versed in the art and science of music and grammar of classical music. Rāy Rāmānanda was the court-poet of Prataparudra-Deva of Gajapati dynasty of Orissa, and both of them were devoted disciples of Sri Chaitanya. Rāy Rāmānanda composed some treaties on music, and elaborately dealt with the problem of kşudragiti.

The nāma-kīrtana was composed of different names of Hari,

the Lord of the universe: 'harernāma harernāma', etc., but it was sung with pure classical rāgas and tālas. It has already been said that Śāraṅgadeva described elaborately the karaṇa-prabandhas in the early thirteenth century A.D. in connection with niryukta and aniryukta as well as eight kinds of sūḍa-prabandha-gīti (vide SR. 4.21-32), Śrī Chaitanya's introduction of the nāma-kīrtana or kīrtana was supported by Svarūpa-Dāmodara and Rāy Rāmānanda, who were well-versed in śāstric classical music.

After Śrī Chaitanya, the Vaisnava savants like Thākur Narottama or Narottamadāsa, Āchārya Srīnivāsa and Śyāmānanda or Dukī Kṛṣṇadāsa (1583 A.D.) brought about a new revival of the padakirtana in Bengal. It has already been said that Svāmī Haridās Gosvāmī lived at this time (end of the sixteenth and beginning of seventeenth century A.D., during the reign of the Moghul Emperors Akbar and Jāhāngīr) at Vṛndāvana. Svāmī Haridās Gosvāmī2 was a devout Vaisnava saint and founder of Haridāsi or Sakhi sect at Vrndāvana. From F. S. Growse's Archaelogical Account of Mathurā (1883), we know that Svāmī Haridās composed many sakhis, chambolas, siddhāntapadas, and dhruvapada type of songs in Kāiti and Brajabuli languages. Many other composers and musicians like Priyādās, Dhruvadās, Dāmodara-Svāmī, Dayāldās, Viţhal-Vipul, Bihārīdās, and Rasikadās were famous in Mathurā and Vṛndāvana at that time. Some of them were contemporary to and many lived immediately after Śrī Haridās Svāmī or Svāmī Haridās. Haridās created Vrndāvana seat of culture of dhruvapada. It is said that Thakur Narottama, Āchārya Śrīnivāsa and Śyāmānanda went to Vṛndāvana and Narottama took systematic lessons in dhruvapada prabandha-gitis from some noted Vaisnava savants for a long time. They came back to

^{2.} Some are inclined to call Svāmī Haridāsa as Haridāsa Dāgur, but Haridāsa Dāgur was quite a different man from Svāmī Haridāsa of Vṛndāvana. Again there is no genuine proof that Svāmī Haridāsa, the music-teacher of Miān Tānsen, was a musician of the dāgarvāni or dāgurvāni school.

Bengal, finishing their studies in different sāstras and classical music. They brought with them a huge collection of Sanskrit manuscripts on different subjects, and it is most probable that there were some music manuscripts with them. But unfortunately the manuscripts were looted on the way to Gauda by the men of Rājā Veerhāmbīra (1538-1572) of Vaṇa-Viṣṇupur, Bāṅkurā. Some are of the opinion that this fact is not historically correct, though it has been mentioned in the Kavirāja Kṛṣṇadāsa's Chaitanya-charitāmṛta.³ Rājā Veerhāmbīra, it is said, was subsequently converted to Vaiṣṇavism. The descendants of Veerhāmbīra made Viṣṇupur the seat of culture of classical music.

After coming back from Vṛndāvana, the three scholar saints Narottama, Śrīnivāsa and Śyāmānanda realized the greatness of nāma-kīrtana, introduced by Śrī Chaitanya. Narottama (sixteenth century A.D.) ushered the type of kīrtana, in the design of dhruvapada-prabandha-gīti. Govindadāsa Chakravurty (1583 A.D.), Rāy Basanta (1583 A.D.), Dvija Gaṇgārām, and others were also well-versed in classical music. They represented padāvalī-kīrtana (kirtigāna or kīrtigāthā-gāna) with ālāpa and tones (svaras), ancient scales (grāmas), ascending of the seven Chakravurty or Ghanaśyāmadās. Ile gave a description of them in the ninth chapter of his Bhaktiratnākara:

- (क) वार वार प्रणमिया सवार चरणे।
 आलापे अद्भुत राग प्रकटकरणे।।
 रागिणो सहित राग मुर्तिमन्त कैला।
 श्र ति-स्वर-त्राम-मुर्च्छनादि प्रकाशिला।।

 * * * *

 नरोत्तम गणसह तारे प्रणमय।
 निवद्ध-गोतेर परिपाटि प्रचार्य।।
- (ख) प्रभु-परिकर्गण गुणेर आलय। गीत-नृत्य-वाचे विशास्य अतिशय।।
- 3. Vide Rādhāgovinda Nāth: Chaitanya-charitāmīter Bhumikā.

गायक-सकले ये आलाप-वर्ण-रोते।
आलपये नाना भाति—उपमा कि दिते।।
करिया आलाप राग प्रकट करय।
कहिते कि—रागेर सोभाग्य अतिशय।।
श्रृति-स्वर-ग्राम मूर्छना तालादि आर।
गमक-प्रभेद प्रकाशये चमत्कार।।
विविध प्रबन्धे तालभेद प्रचारे।
अन्येर कि कथा—गन्धवेर गर्व हरे।।4

That is, (a) 'they (singers) began to manifest the melody or rāga with ālāpa repeatedly bowing down to all. The rāgas With raginis, śrutis, svaras, melas, and mūrcchanās were vividly * * Thakur Narottama and his attendants began manifested. to propagate the nibaddha type of kīrtana, in a very accomplished way. (b) The Master (Śrī Chaitanya) and his followers were endowed with many qualities. They were efficient in nrtya, gita and vādya (dancing, singing and drumming). * * The singers began to represent ālāpa in various ways, according to its śāstric rules, and they were unparalleled. In this way they fully manifested the ragas, together with microtones, notes, scale, murcchanās, and rhythm, etc. They used gamaka (curving of the tune) and different rhythms in different prabandha type of songs. It was so beautiful and accomplished that even the Gandharvas were no match to them'. From this it is evident that kirtana or kirtana-prabandhagīti was classical in its type.

It may be mentioned in this connection that some consider padāvalī-kīrtana as a folk song, or devotional bhajan as distinct from classical music. This under-estimation occurs, in our opinion, for want of true perspective of the history of kīrtana of Bengal. It has already been said that kīrtana i.e. padāvalī-kīrtana of Bengal is a pure type of sūḍa-prabandha-gāna of the post-Bharata classical music. Even the derivated and diminutive form of the dḥapa-kīrtana, introduced by Madhu-sūdan Kinnar or Madhu-Kān owes its origin directly to classical prabandha-gāna and pānchālī. So all kinds of controversy

^{4.} Vide भक्तिरत्नाकर published by the Gaudiya-Math, p. 500.

regarding the purity and aristrocracy of the padāvalī-kīrtana of

Bengal are baseless.

After Ţḥākur Narottama, many learned Vaisnava savants enriched the domain of the padagītis and the padāvalī-kīrtana. The name of Ghanasyama-Narahari is worth-mentioning in this connection. Naraharidas lived in the early eighteenth century A.D. Between the sixteenth and eighteenth century A.D. the classical music was cultured profusely all over Greater Bengal, and we get its genuine proof from the book Gītaprakāśa of Orissa. It is believed that the book, Gītaprakāśa, was composed by (Svāmī) Kṛṣṇadāsa,5 probably in the first half of the sixteenth century, i.e. during the time of Ray Ramananda and Prataprudra-Dev or Prataparudra-Gajapati (1504-1582 A.D.). Harinārāyaņa Sūri, Gajapati Nārāyaņa-Deva, and poet Nārāyaņa were mostly indebted to the book Gitaprakāśa, Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-Deva of Khemundi (a place in Southern Orissa) composed the Sangīta-nārāyana, and it was written, says K. C. Pattanāik, in the seventeenth century A.D. From the family chronology (krusināmā) of the Khemundi Rāj family, it is known that Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-Deva belonged to this family. Many other books on music were written at this time, and the Gitaprakāša was certainly a help and an inspiration to them. Narahari's musical chapter in the Bhaktiratnākara, and his Sangītasāra-samgraha and Gītachandrodaya prove the trend culture of classical music in the eighteenth century. Narahari learnt dhruvapada from the noted Hindu and Muslim Ustāds of that time. Bharatachandra Roy (probably 1703 A.D.), Kavirañjan Rāmprasād Sen (probably 1720-1730 A.D.) of Hālisahara, Ayodhyā Goswāin or Āju Goswāin (contemporary to Rāmprasād Sen), Rāmanidhi Gupta or Nidhu Bābu (probably 1741-1742 A.D.), and others were regarded as the noted composers and musicians of that time. Different nibaddha-kāvya-gītis, and specially the panchali and other ali-prabandha-gitis with different

^{5.} It is to note that there were different Kṛṣṇadās, but Kṛṣṇadās, the teacher of Svämi Haridäs, was a different man.

intricate tālas and ālāpas used to be cultured at that time. They were mostly composed in French-Sanskrit mixed Bengali. The kheyāl type of music was not so current at that time in Bengal. Kavi Rāmprasād was a true lover of traditional classical music, and his songs were appreciated by all classes of people, including the classicalists.

Next to Rāmprasād Sen, Rāmanidhi Gupta (1741-1742—1838-1839 A.D.)⁶ created a new and novel type of tappā. In his early age, he learned classic-Bengali songs from some native Ustāds. At the age of 35 he went to Chāprā district with a service, and there he mastered pure type of tappā from some Muslim Ustāds. In his ripe age he came back to Calcutta, and composed hundreds of Bengali classical tappās, which were new and novel in form, and unique in presentation. He created a new sensation and zeal amongst the lovers of classical music of Bengal at that time.

Beside, the names of Śrīdhar Kathak, Kālimirjā (Kālidas Chattopadhyay), Mohanchandra Basu and others are worthmentioning in the fields of tappā, ākhrāi, half-ākhrāi, dāḍākavi etc. Kālimirjā was very popular and creative in his art of tappā. Mohanchand Basu can be said to be the creator or innovator of half-ākhrāi in Bengal. Besides him, Rāmchānd Mukhoof half-ākhrāi in Bengal. Besides him, Rāmchānd Mukhopadhyay of Jorasankha and Rāmlochan Basāk of Pāthuriāpadhyay of Jorasankha and Rāmlochan Basāk of Pāthu

The history of the culture of classical music in Bengal became glorified with the advent of the Muslim *Ustāds* from Delhi and Āgrā, who began to settle in Bengal during 1759 to 1806 A.D., when Moghul Emperor Shāh Ālam II (formerly Āli Gauhar) was on the throne of Delhi. Shāh Ālam was a man of weak personality, and when on the 12th August, 1765, he granted by a *firmān* the *Diwāni* of Bengal, Bihār and Orissā to the East India Company, he became the titular Moghul

^{6.} Some ascribe the date 1741-1834 A.D.

Emperor living under the protection of the British. It was, therefore, impossible for him to carry on the musical legacy of his glorious predecessor. The noted musicians who belonged mostly to the Tansen school (gharāṇā), began to leave Delhi and sought refuge in different Durbars of Muslim Nawabs and Hindu kings and Zemindars of Oudh, Betiya, Rewa and other places. It is said that some of the descendants of Tansen went eastward, and the Seni Ustads, belonging to Tansen's disciple line, went to different parts of Rajputana. The British Rāj was not interested in preserving the traditional art and culture of Indian music, so they were indifferent to patronizing the musicians. Many of the Ustāds took shelter in the Durbar of the king of Banaras, and some of them came to Bengal, and settled in Kṛṣṇanagar, Viṣṇupur, Murśidābād and other places. In the seventeenth-eighteenth century A.D., Bāhādur Khān of the Senī school was invited by Rājā Raghunāth Singh II (1752-1784) of Visnupur (Bānkurā) and was appointed as his court-musician. The Pākhawāj player Peer Bux came with him and was appointed in the Durbar. Gadadhara Chakravurty, Rāmaśankar Bhattāchārya, Nitāi Nājir, and Vendavan Nājir were the first disciples of Ustād Bāhādur Khān. All of them mastered dhruvapada of the Seni school of Delhi. After Bāhādur Khān, his favourite student Gadādhara Chakravurty, and afterwards Rāmaśańkar Bhattāchārya became teachers, and Visnupur was regarded as the second Delhi in Bengal. Syāmāchānd Gosvāmi, Anantalāl Chakravurty, Dvārikānāth, Kṛṣṇanāth and Vrijamādhava were the students of Gadādhar Chakravurty. Ksetramohan Gosvāmi, Jadu Bhatta, Keśavlāl Chakravurty, Rāmakeśav, Dinabandhu and Anantalāl Banerji, the father of Sangitāchārya Gopeśvara Banerji, were the students of Rāmaśańkar Bhattāchārya. All of them cultured the Seni style of dhruvapada. But gradually that style was replaced by the style of Sadāranga of Tānsen School. Sadāranga's real name was Niyāmat Khān, and 'sadāranga' was the title, conferred upon him by Muhammed Shah Rangile. Niyāmat Khān belonged to the Tānsen line, and was

an expert in both dhruvapada and veeṇā playing. Whatever may be the story current about him, he composed many classical vilambita kheyāl type of songs on the pattern of the dhruvapada. He was really the man who made the kheyāl type of music of India rich, aristocratic and popular. Āmir Khusrau and Sultān Hussain Sharkī of Jaunpur created an impetus in the kheyāl type of songs before Sadāraṅga or Niyāmat Khān. Most of the musicians of Viṣṇupur learned dhruvapada from the Ustāds of Gwālior, Rewā, Betiyā, and other places of Rājputānā and Bihār. Bengal was then regarded as a seat of culture of classical music

During the early nineteenth century, Chinsura, in the Hooghly district, was noted for its culture of classical music. Ustād Mān Khān came to Chinsurā in 1806, and Rāmchandra Seal took lessons on dhruvapada from him. He was an expert in both dhruvapada and kheyāl, so he taught his disciple Rāmchandra both the types of music. Rāmchandra Seal was the Dewan of Messrs Palmer & Co., so he had to go to Mursidābād from time to time. Murśidābād was at that time one of the seats of culture of classical music. Bade Miān, Has-su-Khān, Hardu-Khān, Hīrā and Bul-bul were the famous musicians of that time. Rāmchandra used to invite them to Chinsurā and thus he created an inspiration among the people of that place. He was acquainted with Kṛṣṇānanda Vedavyāsa, the well-known compiler of Rāga-kalpadruma. Mahārājā Bharatchandra of Kṛṣṇanagar used to invite Rāmchandra to his Durbār. Mahārājā himself was very fond of classical Music, and many Muslim Ustads were often invited in his Kṛṣṇanagar Durbār. Gopāl Chandra Pāṭḥak, Parāṇa Mukherjee and Jaladhar Mukherji were the students of Ramchandra. Rāmkṛṣṇa Pāl, who mastered the khāndārvānī dhrupada, and musicians like Rāmakānāi Mukherji and Gangā Nārāyaņa Chatterji were contemporaneous to Rāmchandra Seal.

It is said that *kheyāl* (Hindusthānī) was first introduced in Bengal, in the early nineteenth century. Kānāilāl Chakravurty and Mādhavlāl Chakravurty of Viṣṇupur, (Bāṅkurā) first

learned kheyāl from Mohammed Khān of Sadāraṅga's disciple line, and they introduced this style in Viṣṇupur. Rājā Madan Mohan Siṅgh was then the Ruler of Viṣṇupur, and he encouraged them in the introduction of kheyāl, together with dhruvapada. But there is a difference of opinion regarding the first introduction of kheyāl in the soil of Bengal.

In the middle of the nineteenth century A.D., Calcutta became one of the chief centres of the culture of classical music. Mahārājā Jatindra Mohan Tagore and Mahārājā Sir Sourindra Mohan Tagore of Jorāsānko (Calcutta) were great patrons of classical music. Kşetra Mohan Gosvāmī was appointed as a teacher of music in their palace. Peer Bux, the pākhoyājī of Visnupur also lived some times in Calcutta, and made some students. All the top ranking Muslim and Hindu Ustads of that time were invited to the Tagore castle. The names of Maula-Bux of Baroda, Hanuman Dasji and Kānāilāl Dherī of Gayā may be mentioned among those, who used to be invited. Maula-Bux became the family teacher of the Tagores. Śrimati Prativa Devi, the wife of Asutos Choudhury and others became his students. Ustād Hanumān Dāsjī was an expert in both theory and practice of music, and he was very favourite to Sir S. M. Tagore. The name of his worthy son, Soniji is worth mentioning in this connection. Soniji was noted for the colourful playing of the harmonium.

Sir S. M. Tagore established the Sangīta-samāja in Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, with the co-operation of some zamindars of Bengal, namely, Mahārājā of Nātore, Āśutoş Choudhury, Manmatha Mitra, poet Rabindranāth Tagore, and others. They provided many Muslim Ustāds in their Samāj. Time to time jalsās (music functions) were arranged for giving scope and opportunity to the students and public at large. Sir S. M. Tagore wrote many valuable books on music with the help of Kṣetra Mohan Gosvāmī and others. Kṣetra Mohan Gosvāmī also wrote two noted books: Sangītasāra and Yantra-kṣetra-dīpikā.

At that time Bengal had produced many talented Ustads of

classical music. The renowned Jadu Bhatta of Visnupur mastered dhruvapada of Seni school in his early age from Gadādhara Chakravurty. In the opinion of Rabindranāth Tagore, the renowned Jadu Bhatta's dhruvapada was purely of khāndārvānī style. Afterwards he went to the Durbar of Veerchandra Mānikya Bāhādur of Tipperā, and there he learned veenā and rabāb from Ustād Kāsem Āli Khān, a descendant of Miān Tānsen. He also mastered surabāhār and pākhawāj. Jadu Bhatta came back to Calcutta, and was sometimes a music teacher in the Tagore family.

Among other musicians of Vișnupur, Anantalal Banerji, Keśavlāl Chakravurty, Rāmakeśava and Dinabandhu Gosvāmī were the students of Rāmaśankara Bhattāchārya. Rāmaśańkara's son Rāmakeśava was engaged as the music teacher in the house of Chātu Bābu and Lātu Bābu, the renowned Zemindars of Calcutta. Dinabandhu was an expert in dhruvapada, kheyāl and thumri. His son Gangānārāin Gosvāmī was a finished musician, and he took service in the palace of the

Mahārājā of Mymensingh.

Rādhikāprasād Gosvāmī first learned dhruvapada from Anantalal Banerji, and then he went to the Durbar of Maharājā Ānanda Kiśore of Betiyā. Mahārājā Ānanda Kiśore was a passionate lover of classical music. He mastered dhruvapada from Muslim Ustads, and composed many songs of great æsthetic and poetical value. The name of Naval Kiśore should be mentioned in this connection. Mahārājā Ānanda Kiśore had a number of noted students, and among them were: Sivanārāyaņa Miśra, Guruprasād Miśra and others. Rādhikāprasād Gosvāmī also learned dhruvapada and kheyāl from them. Rādhikāprasād's father Jagatchānd Gosvāmī was a renowned mrdanga player.

The name of Aghore Nath Chakravurty of Harinabhi (24 parganās) and Vāmācharan Banerji of Behālā are worthmentioning. Aghore Nath Chakravurty learned dhruvapada from Ustād Āli-Bux and Ustād Daulat Khān of Punjab. He

also mastered kheyāl and classico-Bengali songs.

Ustād Rasūl-Bux first came as a Durbār musician at the Kṛṣṇanagar Rājbāti. Afterwards he was appointed as a music teacher in the house of Rāmadās Gosvāmī zemindar of Serāmpore, Hooghly. Rāmadas Gosvāmī learned dhruvapada first from Rasūl-Bux, and then from Ustād Ūjīr-Khān and Yu-suf-Khān. Harinārāyaṇa Mukherji of Banaras and Nemāi Charan Ghoṣāl of Serampore were the students of Rāmadās Gosvāmī. Harinarayaṇa Mukherji afterwards learned dhruvapadas from other Hindu and Muslim Ustāds of that time.

Besides Calcutta, Mymensingh was a seat of culture of classical music. Mahārājā Sūryakānta Āchārya, zemindar of Mymensingh, used to invite all the noted Muslim *Ustāds*, who happened to come to Calcutta. He was a lover and patron of classical music. After him, the name of Jagat Kiśore Āchārya of Muktāgāchā is worth mentioning. He also preserved the traditional culture of classical music in the Mymensingh District.

The name of Harendra Kiśore Roychoudhury of Rām-gopālpur should be mentioned in this connection. He was a noted tabal player. He mastered tabal first from Prasanna Kumār Baṇik of Dacca, and then from Maulavī-Rām of Banaras. Āsām-Gourīpore was a seat of culture of classical music, during the time of zemindar, Prabhāt Chandra Baḍuā. Dacca was also a chief centre, and the name of Baṇik and Basāk families are specially worth mentioning in this connection. Bhagavān Dās was a great setārī of Dacca. During the Jhulan festival, renowned Hindu and Muslim Ustāds were invited to Dacca every year, and used to give demonstrations of classical music in different temples. The Nawāb of Dacca was a patron of classical music.

Bābu Sāradā Prasanna Mukherji, Zemindar of Gobardanga, was a lover of classical music. Gopāl Chandra Pāṭḥak of Chinsurā used to visit him. The celebrated tabal players danga Rājbāti. Sāradā Prasanna Mukherji used to invite many Ustāds to Gobardanga house, and created an atmosphere

for the culture of highway music. Girijā Bābu of that place

was a famous player of surabāhār. Jayakrsna Mukherji, zemindar of Uttarpārā, was a patron of classical music. Lalgola was another notable centre. Under the patronage of Rājā Rāo Jagadindra Nārāyan Rāy-Bāhādur, many musicians had opportunity of getting training in classical music. The encyclopaedic work Rāgakalpadruma by Kṛṣṇānanda Vyāsa was published under the patronage. Kṛṣṇānandajī got the inspiration of compiling this voluminous book, from the compilation of the monumental Bengali dictionary Sabdakalpadruma, under the patronage and inspiration of Rājā Rādhākānta Dev-Bāhādur of Śobhābāzār, Calcutta.

Natore Raj palace was a seat of culture of classical Mahārājā Jagadindra Nāth Roy of Nātore was a music. famous Pākhawāj player, and he invited from time to time, many of the Muslim and Hindu Ustāds in his Natore palace. His worthy descendants have also preserved their family tradition. Mahārājā Jogīndra Nāth Roy and his worthy sons are also the lovers of music.

Āgartalā was also a seat of culture of music. Rājā Beer-Vikram Bāhādur was very devoted to classical music. Ustād Enāyet Khān, Ustād Ālāuddin Khān, Ājim-Bux (Tabaliā), Śyām Pāṇḍe, Mazid Khān and other Ustāds used to visit Āgartalā from time to time, and created an interest for classical music among the inhabitants there.

The name of Comilla (Tipperah) may be noted in this connection. In 1919, Harihar Roy established a Sangita-Vidyāpīṭḥ at Comillā. Comillā is also famous for its flute. The names of Birendra Nārāyaņa and Gopendra Nārāyaņa can be mentioned, who are experts in reproducing classical ragas through flute. The name of the famous flute player Pānnālāl Ghosh can also be mentioned in this connection.

Now let us give a short sketch of trends of classical music in Bengal in the twentieth century. Sir Jatindra Mohan Tagore and Sir Sourindra Mohan Tagore had already created the fountainhead of classical music in Calcutta, and Maharși Devendra Nāth Tagore, Hemendranāth, Somendranāth, Jyotirīndranāth, Satyendranāth, Dvijendranāth, Rabīndranāth, Dinendranāth and others kept that fountain flowing in its pristine glory. Viṣṇu Chakravurty, Ramāpati Banerji, Rāj Chandra Roy of Śāntipur, including Jadu Bhatta and others were music teachers of the Tagores. The Tagore house was mostly influenced by the musicians of Viṣṇupur. The Muslim Ustāds of the Senī school had already settled in different parts of Bengal. From the beginning of the twentieth century upto 1945, we find that various schools and institutions of Hindusthānī classical music, were established in different parts of Bengal. Besides the classical type of music, Bengal produced different types of classico-folk and folk music. The names of bāul, jhumur, pānchālī, bhātiyālī, jāri, sāri, gambhīrā, kavigāna, dādākavi, half-ākhdāi, tarjā, etc. are worth recording.

The music consciousness of Bengal is now becoming more sensitive and constructive. Research works in the field of theory and history of music are developing day by day. Books on music and musical instruments with critical notes and notations are coming out in numbers. The future prospect of Bengal in musical sphere is undoubtedly bright and glorious.

II

Now let us draw an outline of the picture of music literature of Bengal, along with some of the important non-musical books, which furnish us with music material. We shall divide our subject of survey into two groups 'A' and 'B', of which 'A' will represent the first-hand music literature, and 'B' the non-musical books, supplying materials of music. It is needless to mention that by music literature of Bengal we mean to say the music literature of undivided Greater Bengal, which was the glory of Indian dominion.

The first-hand Music Literature of Bengal

- 1. NĀTHAGĪTIS: They were written by Gorakṣanāth, Chouranginath, Minanath, and others. They were written mostly during the rule of the Pala Dynasty from eighthninth century A.D. All the gitis are in avahatthadohā form, and can be regarded as the prabandha-ganas like later The following Bengali literature of the nathacharyāgītis. gītis are available. MM. Haraprasād Sāstrī said about the Nathism: "But there were other forms of religions Which the Buddhist community absorbed within itself. One of these is the Natha-marga or Nathism. * * Thus the Nāthism of Matsyendra arose outside Buddhism, but it Was at last absorbed into it. On the other hand, Ramana Vajra was a Buddhist monk of the Vajrayāna school, but when he became a Nātha, he became Gorakṣanāth, and was regarded as a heretic by Buddhists, so Gorakşa's Nāthism was originally within Buddhism, but it was not incorporated into it." It is evident that the songs of the Nātha-Yogis (nātha-gītis) were no other than the gāthās or ganas of the Buddhists, though the religious and spiritual practices of the Natha Yogis were different from the Vajrayānī Buddhists, to some extent.
 - (a) Mānikchandrer Gāna-Collected by Sir George A. Grierson (vide Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1874).
 - Minachetana-Written by Śyāmadās Sen.
 - Govindachandra-Gita—Written by Durlav Mullick. (b) (c)
 - Gorakşavijaya—Written by Fayzullāḥ.
 - Mainamatir Gana or Gopichandrer Panchali-Written (d) (e) by Bhavānī Dās.
 - (f) Gopichandrer Gana-Written by Viśveśvara Bhatta-
 - (g) Gopichandrer Sanyāsa-Written by Sukkur Mohammed, Dacca, 1332 B.S.

2. CHARYĀPADAS—Written by Savarī-pā, Kāņu-pā, Hāḍi-pā, Lui-pā, Virū-pā, Saraha and others. Eightyfour Sahajiyā or Vajrayānī Buddhist Āchāryas composed and collected the padas or ganas, during 950-1200 A.D. The actual language of the charyā and vajra padas was gauda-vanga or śauraseni-apabhramśa. They were collected and published in book forms, namely: (a) Bauddhagāna-O-Dohā by MM. Haraprasād Śāstrī (published by the Vangiya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta); (2) Charyāpada by Prof. Manindranath Basu (published by the University of Calcutta); (c) Charyāpada (Eng.), edited by Dr. P. C. Bagchi (published by the Calcutta University); (d) Charyāpada, edited by Dr. Sukumār Sen; (e) Charyāpada, edited by Dr. Śaśibhūşan Dāsgupta; (f) Vanga-Sāhityer-Kathā by Dr. H. Sahidullāh, etc.

Nearly six hundred years before the advent of Śrī Chaitanya (1485-1533 A.D.), the Bauddha Siddhāchāryas used to compose the padas (gānas), and sang them with various classical rāgas, tālas and dhātus. The names of the rāgas were: patamañjari, gabdā, aru (māru?), guñjarī (gurjarī?), devakrī, deśakha (devasakha), bhairavī, kāmoda, dhānasī (dhānasrī), rāmakrī, varādī, śīvarī (sāvarī or śrāverī), mallārī, mālasī (mālaśrī), malāddi (?),

kahņu-gunjarī (kāhņu-gurjarī?), vangāla or vāngālā, etc.

The Bauddha Sannyāsins i.e. Bhikşus or Śramanas composed many gāthās, and their compositions (sāhitya) were known as the gāthā-bhāṣā. Some are of the opinion that the language of the charyā and vajra-gītis were mixed Sanskrit. Some differ from it. In the Dākārṇava, we get the names of the seventy-six Siddhāchāryas, out of eighty-four. They were known as the Siddhas of Tibet. They were, in truth, Bauddha Sahajiyas, and they came from different parts of India irrespective of caste and creed. It is said that the natha-dharma was a part of Buddhist religion. It has already been said that Nāthāchāryas composed many padas, i.e. gānas with different rāgas and tālas.

The word 'charyā' connotes the idea of behaviour (ācharaṇa).

The words tapascharyā, natacharyā, etc. evolved from it. The male and female Buddhist mendicants composed the charya and vajra gītis, as part and parcel of their religious and spiritual practices. In the Vedic period, we come across the gathanāraśamsīs, which were similarly sung by the side of the sacrificial altars. In different religious functions, the charya and vajra-gāthās were sung. They were mainly sung in the Tantric, mandala-chakra of the Buddhist monks, of the Vajrayānī sect. It is said that the mandala-chakra, was similar to the yogini chakra of the Hindu or Brāhmanya Tantra. In the mandalachakra Vajradhara-Heruka was entertained by the charya and vajra-gītis, though charyā was different from vajra-gīti, to some extent, in their forms and applications. The charya was generally composed of four (complete) parts (dhātus), and the word 'dhruvapada' was mentioned in either the third or fourth part. Sometimes it was mentioned in the second part.

The object of the charyā and vajra gītis was to attain the 'mahāsukha' (greatest happiness and bliss), in the state of Sahaja. Advayavajra and Munidatta say in their commentaries that, as the language of the charyā and vajra-gītis used to connote double meaning, it was known as the sandhyā-bhāṣā, or sandhyā-double meaning, it was known as the suggestive (ābhi-sanketa, or sandhyā-vachana, which means the suggestive (ābhi-sanketa, or sandhyā-vachana, or sandhyā-sanketa, or sandhyā-vachana, or sandhyā-sanketa, or sandhyā-sanketa, or sandhyā-sanketa, or sandhyā-sanketa, or sandhyā-sanketa, or sandhyā-sanketa, or san

फोईरे वंशा वाजिरे वीणा अनह सादेँ तिहअन लीना।।

From this, it is evident that veenā, veņu and mrdanga accompanied the charyā and vajra-gītis of the Buddhist Siddhāchāryas.

Śāraṅgadeva and Veṅkatamakhī are of the opinion that charyā and rāhaḍī types were included in the category of the vipra-kīrṇa prabandha-gīti, and its jāti was tārāvalī. Kallināth elabora-tely deals with the structure and application of the charyā-prabandhagāna, in its commentary, Kalānīdhi, on the Saṅgīta-Raṭnākara.

Now, the correct forms of the rāgas, that were used in the charyā and vajra-gītis, can be determined by the melodic patterns or the forms of the rāgas, that are depicted in the Rāgatarangiņī by Lochana-Kavi, the Sangīta-pārijāta by Paṇḍit Ahobala, and the Hrdayakautuka by Hṛdayanārāyaṇadeva of the 16th-17th century A.D. It should be remembered that the standard scale, that was current during tenth-twelfth century A.D., has now been altogether changed.

Philosophy of the Charyapada

It has been said that charyās are the padas or gānas, composed by the Siddhāchāryas, belonged to the Buddhist Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna. The great vehicle or sādhanā-mārga is known as Mahāyāna. Mahāyāna is consisted of two main nayas, pāramitā and mantra. Naya means mata or opinion (vāda). The followers of the pāramitā-naya laid stress on the Bauddha dasabhūmi, and they tried to transcend the limit of the dasa-bhūma for attaining the highest stage of spiritual sādhanā. The followers of the mantra-naya did not accept that path, they rather laid stress on mudrā and maṇḍala, and from this practice the tāntricism evolved in the Buddhist Vajrayānists, which meant the Šūnyatāyāna, Vajra means sūnyatā, the positive existence of Nirvāṇa or mukti.

The Vajrayānists used to perform the kriyāvidhi which includes the worshipping of the deities, mantra, maṇḍala (mystic Vajrayāna evolved, and that was the Kālachakrayāna. The followers of the Kālachakrayāna adopted the process of going and outward-going breaths. By controlling breath, the time (kāla).

There evolved another method of Buddhist sādhanā, Sahajayāna, from which evolved afterwards the doctrine of sahajiyā. Sahaja means an eternal immortal existence of truth and bliss, which can be called the Sahaja-Iśvara who shines above all the impurities of māyā or avidyā. The doctrine of sahajyā was mixed afterwards with the Vaiṣṇavism and Tantra. The Sahajiyās follow the crooked way (bānkā-path) i.e. quite different method than that of the Mahayānists and Vajrayānists. But the Siddhāchāryas said,

Ujure uju chādi mā jāhure vanka / niyadi vohi mā jāhu re lānka //

That is, 'real Sādhaka should not adopt the crooked path, (of the Sahajayānists), but should follow the straight (riju) path. Bodhi is nearhand, so do not go to distant Lankā.' The word uju-vāta means riju or straight vāta or patha, and the vanka-vāta is the path of reasoning and profoundity as well as the path of dhyāna-dhāranā-samādhi, which are prescribed in the Yoga. The eternal bliss is the aim of the Yoga sādhanā, and the bliss attainted, is the sahajānanda or mahāsukha. But the Sahajiyās believe that there is an invisible sahaja-sattva or sahajānanda inside the physical body, and that immortal or sahajānanda inside the physical body, and that immortal sattvā or Existence should be realized in the mortal frame,

The Sahajiyās believe in the doctrine of the bodhichitta which means \$\frac{\sqrt{sunyata}}{sunyata}\$ combined with \$karuna\$ which are similar to \$\frac{siva-\$sakti-principle}{sakti-principle}\$ of the Hindu Tantra and Prajā and Upāya of the Buddhist Tantra,—the Principles of subjectivity and objectivity. The \$advayatattva\$ is known as the bodhichitta or \$sahajasvarūpa\$. The Sahajayānists adopt the process of \$prāna-vama\$ i.e. controlling of \$prāna-nādi\$ in the left side and the \$apāna-vama\$ i.e. controlling of \$prāna-nādi\$ in the left side and the \$apāna-vama\$ in the right side, and proceed to the middle path or \$madhyagā-nādi\$ which is known as the \$avadhuti\$ or \$avadhutika\$. The processes of left going and right going create the \$bhāva\$ or existence and \$nirvāna\$ or non-existence i.e. creation and destruction. So the Sahajayānists follow the middle path or \$madhyagā\$ or \$\bar{u}rdhagā-nādi\$ which terminates in \$avadhutika\$ the \$mahāsukha\$ or \$Sahajānanda\$. This Sahajānanda or the final goal is known as Vindu or \$\frac{s}{s}va\$, whereas \$Nāda\$ is \$\frac{s}{s}akti\$. The Vindu-Nāda-Tattva

is the nivṛtti-pravṛtti-tattva which creates samsāra or bondage, so a real Sahajiyā-Sādhaka transcends that dual phase of existence and process through the non-dual Mahāsukha or Sahajānanda. The madhyagā or ūrdhagā path is known as the avadhūtimārga or sāmarasya-mārga that promises real Truth or Ānanda. This supreme stage or state is known as the advaya bodhichitta or mahāsukha. The aim of the Buddhāchāryas was to attain the supreme stateless state which is neither śūnyatā nor karuṇā, but is bodhichitta.

- 3. DOHĀKOṢĀ: Written by Āchārya Saraha. Three Dohākoṣas are available, and they were composed in 1100-1150 A.D., in different metres like prākṛt-avahatṭḥa, choupadī, paddhadī, etc. They were sung in pure classical rāgas (vide Bauddha-gāna O Dohā, by MM. H. P. Śāstrī).
- 4. DAŚĀVATĀRA-CHARITA: Written by Kşemendra. He probably flourished before 1200 A.D. Kavi Jayadeva was much influenced by this book.
- 5. GĪTAGOVINDA : Written by Thākur Jayadeva of Kenduvilva, Birbhūm. It was composed in the early 1200 A.D. Pūjārī Gosvāmī, Rāņā Kumbhā, Sankara Miśra, Cherukuri Laksmindhara, Probodhānanda Sarasvatī (published by Haridasa Das), and others wrote commentaries on it, and have thrown light on the music portion. Besides, we find the mention of the following commentaries: Anupodaya by Anup-Singha, Gangā by Kṛṣṇadatta, Gītagovinda-tilokottamā by Hṛdayābharaṇa, Gītagovindaprabodha by Rāmakānta, Mādhurī by Ranganāth, Tattvadipikā by Rāma Roy, Dipikā by Gopāla, Padadyotanikā by Nārāyaṇa-bhatta, Pada-bhāvārtha-chandrikā by Śrīkānta Miśra, Padābhinaya-mañjarī by Vāsudeva Vāchasundara, Prakāśa-kaumudī by Kavirāja Chandīdāsa, Bhava-bhāvinī by Udayanāchārya, Ratnamālā by Kamalākara, Rasakadamva-kallolini by Bhagavata Dās, Rasa-mañjarī by

Sankara-Miśra, Saśilekhā by Kṛṣṇadatta, Śruti-rañjini by Laksmana-Sūrī, Sanjivanī by Vanamālī Bhatta, Sandehabhedikā by Kumer Khān, Sarvāngasundarī by Nārāyaņadāsa, Śrutisāra-rañjanī by Tīrumal Rāj, Sadānanda-govinda by Rūpadeva Paṇḍit, Sāradīpikā by Jagaddhara, Sāhityaratnamālā by Śeṣa-Kamalākara, Sāhitya-ratnākara by Śeṣa-Ratnākara, Suvodha by Bharat Sen-Mullick. Besides them, the following commentators wrote commentaries on the Gitagovinda, and they are: Mānānka, Chidānanda-Bhikşu, Dhṛtikār, Paramānanda, Pitāmvara, Laksmana Bhatta, Vanamālī-Dās, Vrhaspati-Miśra, Śālināth, Sukladvaja, Śriharsa, Bhāvāchārya, and others. It was first written in prākrt language, and during the reign of the Sena Kings, it was changed into Bengali-Sanskrit language. It consists of twenty-four gītis, with twelve ragas and five talas.

Kavi Jayadeva was a great composer, poet, and musician. A Vaiṣṇava savant, Sanātana Gosvāmī said that he saw a memorable tablet attached in the gate of the Royal Council of Navadvīp, in which the following śloka was imprinted;

गोबद्ध नश्च शरणो जयदेव उमापति।

That is, Umāpatidhara, Govardhana, Śarana, Dhoyī and Jayadeva—these five scholars were in the Royal court of Mahārāj Lakṣmaṇasena. In the glossary, Vaiṣṇavatoshini of the Bhāgavata, it has been mentioned: 'Śrī Jayadeva-sahacharena mahāvāja-Lakṣmaṇasena-mantrivarena umāptidharena'. From this it is understood that Jayadeva was one of the Royal poet (sabhāvai) of Mahārāj Lakṣmaṇasena. Dr. Sukumār Sen writes: "Jayadeva was a contemporary to Lakṣmaṇasena, probably a member of his court". We think that there must not be any doubt about it that Jayadeva was a court-poet of Mahārāj Lakṣmaṇasena, the last Hindu king of Bengal.

Jayadeva lived in the middle or end of twelfth century A.D. His native place was Kendubilva (Kenduli) in the Bīrbhūm (ancient name Kāmakoti) district in West Bengal. The present name of Kendubilva is Jayadeva-kenduli. Jayadeva's father's

name was Bhojadeva and mother's name, Vāmādevī.⁷ The poet married Padmāvatī. Pūjārī Gosvāmī, one of the commentators of the Gītagovinda, wrote: "padmāvatī-charaṇa-chārana-chakravurty" or "tathā-nāmni Jayadeva-patnī". Some hold that the name of the wife of Jayadeva was Rohiņī. The followers of the Sahajiyā doctrine say that Rohiņī was a parakīyā, and Kavi's real wife was Padmāvatī, who was well-versed in the arts of dance and music

There are some controversies as regards the birth-place of Kavi Jayadeva. Some are of the opinion that Kavi Jayadeva came from Utkala or Orissā, and others hold that he was born in South India. But these conjectures are not correct, as Jayadeva was born in Bengal (i.e. in West Bengal, which is known as the Raḍhadeśa). In Sanskrit literature, we find two other Jayadevas, one of them was the composer of the Chhandasūtra and the other was the composer of the drama, Prasanna-Rāghava, and the book on rhetoric, Chhandaloka. Jayadeva in his Suktimuktāvalī in 1179 śaka. In the end of Granthasāheb the name of one Jayadeva who is practically unknown to history.

Jayadeva was greatly influenced by the Vaiṣṇava religion and was devoted to the doctrine of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa (Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-tattva). There is a controversy regarding Rādhā as the divine consort of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and the scholars say that even the word Rādhā as a consort of Śrī Kṛṣṇa is not used in the Bhāgavat. But this not the subject to be discussed in connection with the life of Kavi Jayadeva. But we find various references of divine love-sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in Jayadeva's celebrated song books (gītikāvya), the Gītagovinda. In the Kavindra-vachana-samucchaya (compiled sometime before 100 A.D. by a Buddhist poet of Bengal), we find the poems

^{7.} Some say that Jayadeva's mother's name was Rāmādevī or Rādhādevī. But these suggestions are not correct, because from many sources it is known that Jayadeva's mother's name was Vāmādevī.

on the amors of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, which are grouped under the section Asati-vrajya (i.e. love affairs of unchaste women). Jayadeva too admitted this fact in one of his opening verses of the Gitagovinda but yet he mentioned all through his Mahākāvya the divine sportive play of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa together with their other-worldly divine personality. Dr. Sukumār Sen is of the opinion that Jayadeva's songs or gītīkāvyas of the Gītagovinda "exerted the greatest influence in the development of Vaiṣṇava poetry in Mithila and Bengal".

Jayadeva composed the religio-mystical songs of the Gitagovinda in Sanskrit-Bengali, "but their rhythm and rhyme belong to Apabhramsa poetry". Dr. Sen said that just before the Turkī impact, during the reign of Mahārāj Lakṣmaṇasena, the country offered the last and most important combination to neo-classical literature which is Jayadeva's Gitagovinda. "By injecting the tenderness and mellinfluence of the popular musical lyric into the strong frame of Sanskrit poetry, Jayadeva

made the last attempt at its resurrection".

While discussing about Jayadeva, we cannot avoid the discussion about his memorial work, Gītagovinda-padagāna, which is known as the Aştapadī. It can be recognised as the richest and finest Śringāra-rasa-kāvya which represents the highest primal æsthetic quality of Indian sentiments. Muni Bharata described śrngārarasa as the ādi-rasa which causes the origin of the universe with its animate and inanimate objects, and it brings nirveda or renunciation. The general categorical name of literary composition of the Gitagovinda-padagāna is prabandha, which means bound with six limbs (angas). The Gitagovinda contains soft and fluid syllabic scheme of continuous sweet narrative and poetic forms and soothing meters that charm all lovers of poetry and music.

Generally we find in old Bengali songs the Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu or Siva-Sakti legends or some mystic and ritualistic elements of esoteric cults. In the Gitagovinda-padagāna of Jayadeva, we clearly mark the mention of divine sportive play (līlā) of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa as a means of worship and devotional exercise (sādhanā or upāsanā) in twofold ways, known as aiśvarya (richness) and madhurya (beauty) the form of realization of different æsthetic sentiments (rasasvadana). Besides, in the Gītagovinda, we not only find the scheme of nāyaka-nāyikā-bheda, but also that of upāsya-upāsaka-bheda which mark the distinctive character of the song pieces. So we find that not only all the Chaitanyaite Vaisnavas regard the Gitagovinda merely as a poetical composition of great beauty, but also as a great religious work and it in term of Bhaktirasa-śāstra.

The names of the twelve ragas are: malava-gauda, gurjari, vasanta, rāmakrī or rāmakirī, karņāta, deśākha, deśa-varādī, gondakiri, mālava, bhairavi, vibhāsa, and varādi, and the names of the five tālas are; rūpaka, nissāra, yati, ekatālī and astatāla. Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī cites in his commentary, two new tālas, mantha and prati-mantha, but has not mentioned about the nissāra tāla. In some of the editions of the Gītagovinda, the rāga, karnāta has been replaced by kedāra. Now, let us see how the ragas, current during the time of Jayadeva (early 1200 A.D.), can be deciphered for their use in the present time.

We know that the basic standard scale (śuddha-thāta) of the ancient time was quite different from that of the present Hindusthānī system. According to Mādhava-Vidyāranya (14th-15th century A.D.), the basic ragas were 15, but Pandit Rāmāmatya (1550 A.D.) accepts 20 basic scales. Both of them take mukhārī as the standard scale (śuddha thāta): 'सबेषु रागमेलेषु मुखारिमेल आदिमः'। The melodic form of the mukhārī was: 'sa ri ga ma pa dha ni', which coincides with modern kāphī, to some extent. Paṇḍit Somanāth (1609 A.D.) said: 'मुखारीति मुख्यम्च्छिति प्राप्नीतीति'। The word 'mukha' means prime, and therefore, mukhārī connotes the idea of prime rāga. But, according to Lochana-Kavi (17th century A.D.), the standard scale bhairavi is possessed of all the sharp notes : 'शुद्धा सप्रस्वराः रम्या बादनीयाः प्रयत्नतः', and it corresponds to : 'sa ri ga ma pa dha ni/sa' of the present Hindusthāni system of music. According to Lochana-Kavi, the melodic forms of the basic rāgas are:

1. Bhairavī = sa, ri, ga (flat), ma, pa, dha, ni (flat).

- 2. Todi=sa, ri (flat), ga (flat), ma, pa, dha (flat), ni (flat).
- 3. Gauri = sa, ri (flat), ga, ma, pa, dha (flat), ni.
- 4. Karņāta = sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni (flat).
- 5. Kedāra = sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
- 5. Imana = sa, ri, ga, ma (tivra), pa, dha, ni.
- 7. Sāranga = sa, ri, ga, ma (tīvra), pa, ni (flat), ni.
- 8. Megha=sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, ni (flat), ni.
- 9. Pūrvī = sa, ri, ga, ma (tīvra), pa, ni (flat), ni.
- 10. Dhānasrī = sa, ri (flat), ga, ma (tīvra), pa, dha (flat), ni.
- 11. Mukhārī = sa, ri, ma (flat), ma, pa, dha (flat), ni (flat).
- 12. Dīpaka=no definition has been given by Lochana.

Regarding gaurī, Paṇḍit Ahobala said that the rāga is possessed of ri and dha (flat), and ga and ni (sharp); it is penta-heptatonic, and the melodic form of it is like that of the Tarangiṇī of Lochana. The ancient form of the gaurī coincides with that of the present form of bhairavī (North), and māyāmalavagaula (South). Regarding the rāga, guṇḍakrī, or guṇakrī, or guṇakrī, Paṇḍit Ahobala said that it is possessed of ri and dha (flat), with ga and ni (dropped), and therefore, it is penta-pentatonic. Sometimes guṇakrī is known as hexatonic. Regarding the rāga, rāmakrī, or rāmakirī, or rāmakelī, Ahobala said that it is possessed of ri (flat), ga (sharp), ma (more sharp or tīvra), dha (flat), and ni (sharp), and ma and ni are dropped in the ascent.

Regarding the $r\bar{a}ga$, $dhany\bar{a}\acute{s}ik\bar{a}$, $dh\bar{a}na\dot{s}r\bar{\imath}$, or $dh\bar{a}nas\bar{\imath}$, Paṇḍit Somanāth said that the $r\bar{a}ga$ is penta-heptatonic, and is possessed of ga (flat), ma ($t\bar{\imath}vra$), and ni (flat), and, therefore, its melodic form is sa, ri, ga (flat), ma ($t\bar{\imath}vra$), pa, (dha), ni (flat)/sa. Lochana also accepts this form, and it is included in the $dh\bar{a}na\dot{s}r\bar{\imath}$ -mela. According to Somanāth, it is included in the $fr\bar{\imath}r\bar{a}ga$ -mela, and its ri and dha are left out in the ascent. Regarding the $r\bar{a}ga$, $\bar{a}\dot{s}\bar{a}var\bar{\imath}$, Paṇḍit Ahobala said that it is pentatonic in the ascent (ga being dropped), and heptatonic in the descent. The melodic form of the $\bar{a}\dot{s}\bar{a}var\bar{\imath}$ is therefore: sa, ri, ma, pa, dha (flat) / sa—sa, ni (flat), dha (flat), pa, ma, ga (flat), ri/sa. The $r\bar{a}ga$, $s\bar{a}ver\bar{\imath}$ (also $sr\bar{a}ver\bar{\imath}$), said Ahobala,

is included in the bhairavi-mela, and, therefore, its melodic form is: sa, ri (flat), ga, ma, pa, dha (flat), sa—sa, ni, dha (flat). pa, ma, ga, ri (flat)/sa. Regarding the rāga, bhupālī (or bhupāla), Ahobala said that it is the rāga of the morning, its ascent and descent are: sa, ri (flat), ga, pa, dha (flat), sa-sa, dha (flat), pa, ga, ri (flat), sa. Pandit Rāmāmatya differed from Pandit Ahobala and said that the ascent and the descent of the bhupālī is: sa, ri, ga (flat), pa, dha (flat)—sa, dha (flat) pa, ga (flat), ri/sa. Regarding the raga, gurjari, Pundarika Viththala said that it is included in the mālava-gauda-mela, which coincides with the raga, bhairavi of the modern system, and, therefore, its melodic form is: sa, ri (flat), ga, ma, pa, dha (flat), ni—sa, ni, dha (flat), pa, ma, ga, ri (flat) / sa. Pandit Somanath was of the same opinion. Lochana-Kavi included the gurjari in the gauri-mela, and its melodic form is like that of the modern bhairavi-thata.

Paṇḍit Ahobala described mollāra in two different ways: one, mallāra (ga and ni dropped), and the other, mallārī of the gaurī-mela. The modern form of the mallārī is, therefore, sa, ri (flat), ma, pa, dha (flat)—sa (of the high octave), dha (flat), pa, ma, ga, ri (flat) / sa. Again the ancient melodic form of nata or nāta or natta, according to Rāmāmatya, Puṇḍarika and Somanāth, is: sa, ri (=ga, possessed of three microtonal units=ga-flat), ma (laghu=ga-sharp), ma (suddha), pa, ni, sa (of the high octave and laghu), which corresponds to the present Hindusthānī form: sa, ga (flat), ga (sharp), ma, pa, ni (flat) and sa (of the high octave)

Let me mention the learned article on Gitagovinder Gita (Beng.) by my scholarly friend, Sureś Chandra Chakravurty, Sangītaśāstrī, to make the matter clear. He is also of the opinion that the melodic forms of the rāgas have considerably been changed, and they should be carefully represented according to the forms, current in the present Hindusthānī system of music. He investigates into rāgas as follows:

1. Gurjarī: According to Lochana or Hṛdayanārāyaṇa, it is included in the gaurī-samsthāna, that coincides with the

modern Bhairava-țhāta, possessed of rsabha and dhaivata flat. Hṛdayanārāyaṇa represented the melodic form of the rāga, gurjarī, in his Hrdaya-kautuka, as : sa, ga, pa, dha (flat), sa sa,

dha (flat), pa, ga, re (flat)/sa.

2. Deśa-varādī; Lochana and Hrdayanārāyana did not mention this raga. We think that varādī and varātī are one and the same raga. Matanga (5th-7th century) and Pārśvadeva (9th-11th century) described different types of the varātī in their works. Pandit Somanath (1609 A.D.) gave the melodic form of the śuddha-varātī as : sa, re (flat), ga (flat), ma (tīvra), pa, dha (flat), ni. But the melodic form of the deśa-varādī or deśa-varātī is different from that of the śuddhavarātī, to some extent.

3. Vasanta: Lochana includes this raga in the gaurisamsthāna. Hṛdayanārāyaṇa gave the melodic form of the vasanta as : sa, ma, sa, ni, sa/ni, dha (flat), pa, ma, ga, ri

(flat) / sa.

4. Rāmakrī or Rāmakirī: It is included in the bhairavasamsthāna, and Hṛdayanārāyaṇa represented the melodic form of this rāga as: sa, ga, pa, dha (flat), sa/ni, dha (flat), pa, ga, ma, ga, ri (flat), / sa. 5. Mālava-gauda: It is included in the bhairava-samsthāna.

Mālava-gauda and mālava-gaula are the same rāga.

6. Karnāta: According to Lochana, 'ni' is flat and all other notes are sharp. It coincides with the modern rāga khāmbāj. Hṛdayanārāyaṇa represented the melodic form of this rāga as: sa, ga, ma, ma, ga, re, sa/ni, sa, ri, sa; ri, ga, ri, sa/sa, sa, sa, sa, ri, sa, ni, sa, sa, sa, re, sa/ni (flat), dha, pa, ma, ma, ma, pa, ma, pa, dha, ni, (flat), sa; dha, ni (flat), pa, ma, ma, ga, ri / sa.

7. Dešakha: It is the rāga of the megha-samsthāna, and it appeared before as the modern form of the vindavanisāranga, though the note gāndhāra is used in it. In the Hrdayakautuka, it has been depicted as : sa, ri, ma, pa, ma, sa / ni

(flat), pa, ma/pa, ri, ga, ma, ri / sa.

8. Gondakrī or gondakirī: It is the rāga of the gaurī-

samsthāna. In the Kautuka, it has been depicted as: sa, ri (flat); ri (flat), ma; ma, pa; pa, sa, sa, sa, ni, dha (flat), pa, ma, ma, ri (flat), sa, sa; ri (flat), ma, ri (flat), sa. If the note, nişāda is left out, the form of the rāga appears as the modern gunakiri.

9. Mālava: It is included in the gaurī-samsthāna, which coincides with the modern bhairava. In the Kautuka, it has been depicted as: sa, ga, ma, dha (flat), pa, sa/ri (flat), sa, ni

dha (flat), pa/sa, ma, ga, ri (flat), sa, ni / sa.

10. Bhairavi: It is included in the bhairavi-samsthana, that coincides with the modern form of the kāphī rāga or thāta, to some extent.

- 11. Varādī: It has not been mentioned in the Rāgatarangini. In the Sangita-pārijāta, there are various types of varādī (we have already said that varādī and varātī are the same rāga).
- 12. Vibhāsa: It is included in the bhairava-samsthāna. In the Hrdayakautuka, it has been depicted as : pa, dha (flat), ni, sa / ni, dha (flat), pa, ma, ga, ri (flat), sa. In the Hrdayaprakāśa, it is mentioned as ; sa, ga, pa, dha (flat), sa / dha (flat), pa, ga, ri (flat), ga, ri (flat), sa.

13. Kedāra: Its melodic form is similar to that of the

modern vilāvala, possessed of all the sharp notes.

In this way, all the forms of the ragas, used in the charya, vajra and gitagovinda-padagāna, can be determined, and it is not an impossible task.

Regarding the tālas, given in the Gītagovinda, the commentators of the later period defined them as follows:

1. Rūpaka:

- (a) Pūjārī Gosvāmī defined it as : विशामान्तद्र तद्दन्द्वं रूपकः स्याद्विलक्षण इति ।
- (b) Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī defined it as : हनके स्याद्द्र तं लघु।

2. Yati :

(a) Pūjārī Gosvāmī defined it as : सपुद न्दाद् द्रुवद्दन्द यित स्यात् त्रिपुरान्तरा इति।

- (b) Probodhānanda defined it as : लघु द्रती तालश्रीत। Sārangadeva mentioned about the yatilagna-tāla which is composed of एको टतः, एको लघश्र।
- 3. Ekatālī:
 - (a) Pujārī Gosvāmī defined it as : द्रतमेकं भवेद्यत्न सैकतानोति संज्ञिता।
 - (b) Prabodhānanda defined it as:

एकताली त्रिधा पोक्ता गोतशास्त्रविशारदैः।
रामचित्रका तद्वद्विपुलेत्यथ लक्षणम्।।
द्रतमेकं भवेद्यत्र तालोऽयं त्वण्डसंज्ञितः।
रामानेनेकताली तु कौर्त्यते गायनोत्तमेः।।
गुरुद्वयं भवेद्यत्र तालो लिलतसंज्ञकः।
चित्रका चैकताली स्यात्ते न सौभाग्यदायिनी।।
कोकिलप्रियताले वै द्रतं त्रयमुदाहतम्।
विप्रला चैकताली स्यात्ते न गीतज्ञसम्मता।।

Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī divided ekatālī into three, khanda, lalita, and kokilapriyā. Śārangadeva defined ekatālī as द्रतेन त्वेकतालिका।

- 4. Niḥsāra: Pūjārī Gosvāmī defined it as: द्रतद्र द्वात् लघुद्र द
- 5. Aştatālī:

(a) Pūjārī Gosvāmī defined it as : लघुद्र तो लघुश्रे ति अष्टताली प्रकोतिते।

(b) Prabodhānanda defined it as : लघुई तो लघुश्चे त्यष्टताली

Besides them, Prabodhānanda also described the tālas, mantha and pratimantha. He said,

(a) गुरुर्लघुद्यं यत्र भृङ्गतालः स कथ्यते । मङ्गतो मण्ठके होयो रसे चाद्धतसंहके ॥

- (b) The pratimantha is of four kinds, sannipāta, kanduka, suranga, and khanda.
- (a) Sannipāta = गुरुरेको भवेद यत्र।
- (b) Kandaka = लघुर्यं विरामान्तम्।
- (c) Suranga = विशामान्तद्रतद्वन्द्वं गुरुश्च कस्ततः परम्।
- (d) Khanda = द्रतमेकं भवेदयत्र स तालो खण्डसंज्ञितः।

Śārangadeva described both mantha and pratimantha, in his Sangita-Ratnākara (Ch. V).

Rāṇā Kumbhā or Kumbhakarṇa of Mewār (Medapāta) wrote the commentary, Rasikapriyā in 1433-1468 A.D. on the Gitagovinda. The name of the commentary, Rasikapriyā is also known as the Saṇāta-mīmāmsā. He mentioned in his commentary the name of King Hammīra, the grand-father of his grand-father, who wrote the Sāṇāgaṣīta-śṛṇāgarāhāra in 1283-1364 A.D. It is interesting to note that Rāṇā Kumbhā mentioned the names of the rāgas and the tālas, which are quite different from those, mentioned by Kavi Jayadeva in the Gītagovinda. It is probable that he mentioned the rāgas and the tālas which were used in the pada-gānas of the Gītagovinda during his time. But they are not consistent with those of the Gītagovinda. As for example,

As mentioned in the Gitagovinda			As mentioned by Rāṇā Kumbhā according to his book, Sangītarāja		
Rāga mālava-gauda gurjarī vasanta gurjarī gurjarī karņāta deśa-varādī guṇakarī mālava bhairavī deśa-varādī		Tāla rūpaka niḥṣāra yati yati yati ckatālī rūpaka rūpaka yati yati	Rāga mālava lalita lalita bhairava gaṇḍakṛti malaśrī kedāra mālavagauḍa sthānagauḍa megha-rāga	efinite from the	Tāla ādi ādi jhampā yati pratimantha niḥsāra niḥsāra adda yati yati rāgas and e Saṅgitarāja , and they ita, vasanta, not definite
Commercial					

Again, in the eleventh sarga (chapt.), 20th prabandha, he mentioned some tālas, and in the same sarga, 21st prabandha, 17 rāgas and many classical tālas, including the tālas of the padāvalī-kīrtana like triputa, vijayānanda, jāyasrī, karpata-vangāla, marutakrti, etc. Now, it can be asked as to whether Rānā Kumbhā, the authority on music, dance and drama, of the 15th century A.D., deviated in his method of interpretation of the rāgas and tālas, as depicted in the Gītagovinda.

Sangitarāja: Rāṇa Kumbhā (1433-1468 A.D.) wrote Sangītarāja, an encyclopædic work on science of music, dance, musical instruments and theory of rasa, altogether comprised of five košas (chapters) of about 16,000 slokas measure. Now the portion Vol. I of that encyclopædic work of Rāṇā Kumbhā has been published from Banaras Hindu University, in 1963, and has been critically edited by Dr. (Km.) Premlatā Sarmā with an Introduction of 153 pages.

Previously the *śvara*-chapter only of *Sangitarāja* was edited by Prof. Kunjana Rājā and published in book-form, and the dance-chapter was published by the publication department of the Sanskrit College, Jaipur (now Udayapur), Rājasthāna.

Regarding date and identity of Rana Kumbha, the learned editor wrote: "He (Rāṇā) ascended the throne of Mewar in Chittorgarh in 1433 A.D. immediately after the assassination of his father Mokal." She then quoted a verse "श्रीमद्क्रिमकालतः परिगडे नन्दाश्रमृतिक्षता * * संगीतराजाभिधः" which mentions the year in which S. Raj was completed as V.S. 1509 Saka year 1374 corresponding to 1465 A.D. The Kirttistambha Inscription which was installed in 1460 A.D. clearly refers to the composition of S. Rāj, by Kumbhā...." The book begins with "श्रीराजाधिराजेन्द्र –श्रीकुम्मकर्णं विरचितः प्रथमः पाठवरत्नकोशः प्रथमोऽनुक्रमणिकोस्सासः * अश्रीगवेशाव नहः" etc. The book is written in verses, but it is in bhāsya style—"आहित्व भाषवाद भाषवा ।" Rāņā's language is both elegant and chaste. The learned editor of Sangitaroja (Banaras Ed.) said that 'at places where the author has to differ from the opinions of other writers he uses the language of satire which reminds one of Panditarāja Jagannātha'. While discussing the subjects of different chapters, he quoted the names of Bharata of the Nātyaśāstra, Matanga of the Bṛhaddeśi and others. At the end of the second chapter, Gitaratnakoṣa, Rāṇā said: "श्रोमहाराजाधिराज महीमहेन्द्रश्रीकालसेनेन विरचिते संगीतराजे पोइशसाहस्रयां संगीतमीमांसायां गीतरनकोषेपरीक्षणम्।" From this it is understood that Rāṇā Kumbhā was also known by the name Kālasena.

 GĪTAGOVINDA-SVARALIPI of Kavi Jayadeva by Kşetramohan Gosvāmī, Pāthuriāghātā. Baṅga-Nātyālaya, Calcutta, 1278 B.S. 10th Āsāda.

It begins with:

अ नमः श्रीकृष्णाय। मञ्जलाचरणम्। श्रीगोपीजनवल्लभं मुरहरं हरिम्।१ A preface in Bengali from pp. 1-12 has been written. In the last page of the preface, these lines are written:

"आमार पूज्यपाद संगीतगुरु विष्णुपुर निवासी रामशङ्कर भट्टाचार्य.. जयदेव-

पणीत गीतमाला कण्ठे धारण करिते वाल्यकाले आमाके शिक्षा देन" - उपसं हार।

That is, "my revered father, Rāmaśańkar Bhattāchārya of Viṣṇupur taught me the Gītamālā for preserving them in my voice."

Kṣetramohan Gosvāmī added the following tunes: (1) Saurāti (ni-flat and tāla—teot or triput in Sanskrit); (2) Bhūpālī (hexatonic), tāla—teot; (3) Khāmbāvatī—dhimā-tritāl; (4) Jhinjhit—dhimā-tritāl; (5) Jhinjhit-Khāmbāj—dhimā; (6) Sindhu-Bhairavī—madhyamān; (7) Bihangḍā—āḍā; (8) Sāranga—dhimā; (9) Lalita—jhamptāla; (10) Kānāḍā—ekatālī; (11) Kedārī—dhimā; (12) Ālahiyā—kāwāli; (13) Kalingdā—dhimā; (14) Bhairavī—Jhāmp; (15) Bageśvarī—dhimā. In conclusion K. M. Gosvāmī appealed to all the musicians for holding the precious garland of diamond of the Gitagovinda in the necks.

2. SHREE SANGIT-KALĀDHAR—the Hindi Notations of the Gitagovinda of Kavi Jayadeva: compiled by Dabyalāla Shivram, State Musician, Bhāvnagar, published by Chhanalāl Dahyalāl Nāyak and Chandulāl Dahyalāl Nāyak. Second Edition in 1939, printed by Gulabchandan Lallubhai Shah, printed at the Mahodaya Printing Press, Bhāvnagar, 1939.

6. VARŅA-RATNĀKARA: In the introduction to the book Varṇa-ratnākara, Dr. S. K. Chatterji said: The Varṇa-ratnākara is the oldest work in the Maithili language of North Bihār so far known, and it goes back to the 1st half, perhaps to the 1st quarter, of the fourteenth century. * * and we know from it that the MS. was written in the year 388 of the Lā Sain era which is still current in Mithilā: this corresponds to 1507 A.C., the Lā Sain having commenced from 1119 A.C..

The book was written by Jyotiriśvara-Kavi-śekharāchārya or Jyotiśvara Thakura. His father's name was Dhīreśvara and that of grand-father, Rāmeśvara. He wrote two other books, Dhūrtta-samāgama and Pancha-sāyaka. He was a high court official, a Vedic priest and a scholar of philosophy also. He was also a votary of Siva, and an expert musician besides. He was in the court of a King of the Karnāta dynasty, who defeated a Muhammadan invader (Suratrāna—Sultān). name of the king was Harasimhadeva or Harisimhadeva. Dr. S. K. Chatterji said that from Vidyāpati's Puruṣa-parīkṣā, 'we get in the section under the rubric अथ गीतिवद्याकथा, in Chapter III of the book, there is given a story of a singer from Mithilā (Tīrabhukti) called Kalānidhi, who went to the court of King Udayasimha of Gorakşa-nagara, of Ring odd, and sidelight into the accomplishments of Haristory gives a good sidelight into the accomplishments of Haristory simha: that music and singing were well patronised in his court we can easily infer from the fact of Jyotiriśvara taking pains to vaunt his accomplishment in it in the Pañcha-sāyaka and the Dhūrtta-samāgama, and from the elaborate accounts of the musicians and singers with their corteges which we find in the V.R.'

The sixth kallola of the Varṇa-ratnākara has dealt with the gentle arts of poetry, music, musical instruments, and dancing. Dr. Chatterji said: 'The Vidyāvanta, a professional singer and music-master, a person who is commonly known as a Kalāvanta or Kālawāt at the present day, is described, and his state and his training are scarcely inferior to that of the more

exalted Bhāta. In this connection the names of the rāgas, of srutis, as well as the 7 kinds of gayana-dosa or defects of singers, and the 14 kinds of gita-dosa, or defects in singing are mentioned'. In the pages 47-48 of the VR., are described seven notes, sādja, etc. four music parts or dhātus of the varņa, eighteen jātirāgas, names of the microtones or śrutis of the grāmas (scales), grāmarāgas, rāgāngas, upāngas, and deśī rāgas like madhyamādi, mālava, mallāra, mallārī, megha, mānasi (mālasi= mālāsrī?) mutukī, deśī, dīpaka, deśākṣī, devakarī, vasanta, vangāla, vayarāvaņī, valāra, varālī, kāmoda, karņāta, kaņṭḥaddha-bhairava, bhairavī, patamañjarī, trāņa, guņāgara, gunagarī, gāndhāra, guñjarī, narita, pañchama, hindola, ramakari, andhāri, nāta, choṣasāra, śrī, savarī, śankarābharana, etc. These rāgas can be presented by changing the ancient standard scale into the present one (vilāvala). After music, comes dancing, and there are three sections, describing or enumerating the various kinds of dancing : nṛtta-varṇana, pātra-nṛtta-varṇana, and preraṇa-nṛtta-varṇana. The 10 qualifications of the drum-player (mūraji) are mentioned, also the 12 kinds of drum-music (mūraja-vādya), the time-beats (tāla), 10 rasas, 30 vyabhicl.ārī-bhāvas or opposed sentiment, and so forth.

The book has been edited by Dr. Sunīti Kumār Chatterji, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.A.S.B., and Bābuā Miśra, Jyotiṣā-tīrtha, Jyotiṣāchārya, and published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, in 1940.

7. RĀGATARANGIŅĪ: Written by Kavi-Lochana Paṇḍit. This book was written in the middle of the seventeenth century A.D. Lochana mentioned in his Tarangiṇī that the writing of the book was finished in 1082 of the Saka era (bhujavasu-daśamitra-śaka), corresponds to roughly 1160 A.D. But this is not correct. Hṛdayanārāyaṇa also utilized Lochana's Tarangiṇī, when he wrote his Hṛdayaprakāśa and Hṛdayakautuka, the time of which is assigned to 1660 A.D. Paṇḍit V. N. Bhātkhaṇḍe fixes the date of the

Taranginī somewhere before Hṛdayanārāyaṇa. He mentioned that a genuine manuscript of the Rāgataranginī had been found in Bombay, and it was quite different from the book published from Dvārbhāngā (Dvāra-Vanga). The Rāgataranginī admits 12 samsthānas or melas, and they are: bhairavī, toḍi, gaurī, karṇāta, kedāra, iman, sāranga, megha, dhānaśrī, pūrvī, mukhārī, (it is different from the mukhārī of Vidyāranya Muniśvara of the 14th-15th century), and dīpaka. Its standard pure scale is similar to the kāphī-mela of the modern Hindusthānī system, to some extent.

- 8. RĀGA-SANGĪTA-SAMGRAHA: Written by Lochana Paṇḍit. This encyclopædic book on music was compiled after Rāgataraṅgiṇī. But it is not available. This work seems to be a great collection of different systems of music of India. Lochana mentioned: 'etesām prapaūchastu matkṛta-rāga-saṅhitā-saṅgraha'ṇ-vestavyaḥ' (एतेषां प्रयञ्जस्तु मत्कृत-रागसंहिता-संग्रहऽ-चेष्टन्य:)।
- SANGĪTA-DĀMODARA: Written by Subhankara of Bengal. Subhankara flourished in the middle of 9. the sixteenth century A.D. There is a great controversy about his birth-place. Many are of the opinion that he was born and brought up in Mithila, and many say that he came from Jessore. It is said that he was a devout Vaisnava, and was the follower of Śri Dr. Manomohana Ghosa describes of another Dāmodara, and he said that Govindadāsa was born in the village of Śrīkhanda, in the district of Burdwan, probably in the sixteenth century A.D. His father Chirañjīva Śarmā was also a devotee of Śrī Chaitanya. He married the daughter of Dāmodara Sen, the author of the Sangita-damodara, and leaving Hooghly went to Śrikhanda and lived there (vide Vāngalā Sāhitya [1955], p. 108). Some years ago, Paṇḍit Chintāharaṇa Chakravurty wrote an

article on Subhankara and Sangita-damodara in the monthly journal, Pravāsī (Beng.), edited by the reputed journalist Rāmānanda Chatterjee (Calcutta), and he said that the author of the Dāmodara was Subhankara, a Vaişņava devotee and scholar. Five MSS. of this book have been collected in four different libraries: one in the India Office Library, London, another in Kṛṣṇanagar Library, the third in the Paris Bibliotheque Nationale, and the fourth (incomplete), and the fifth (complete) both in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Alain Danielou (Śiva-Śaraņa) has procured a correct MS. from Paris, and he is editing it for publication. He said that the MS. contains five chapters with 1934 ślokas. The Government of West Bengal has published it from the Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

It is said that one Sangīta-dāmodara was published (in Bengali) from Bengal, but it was mainly a book on dance and drama. Rāmdās Sen of Baharampur (Murśidābād) mentioned in his book: Aitihāsika-Rahasya, Vol. I, that he procured a copy of the Sangīta-dāmodara but unfortunately it happened to be a book on Alamkāra. It is said that a MS. of the Dāmodara published.

One Subhankara wrote a book on music, and he named it after the name of his youngest son, Dāmodara. Some are of the opinion that there were four Dāmodaras, and all were the found in many of the later music treatises. Sir William Jones was of the opinion that the Sangīta-dāmodara was an important dāmodara are found in the Sangīta-dāmodara was an important dāmodara are found in the Sabdakalpadruma, a voluminous Rādhākānta Dev-Bāhādur of Sobhābāzār, Calcutta, and from this it is evident that it was an authentic edition of the Now an authentic edition of the

Sangīta-Dāmodara has published from the Calcutta Sanskrit College, and edited by Prof. G. G. Mukhopadhyay.

10. HASTAMUKTĀVALĪ: It was written or compiled by Subhankara. Two MSS. of this book have been found: one in Bengali character, from the Nepāl Durbār Library (vide MM. H. P. Šāstrī: Catalogue in the Durbār Library of Nepāl, 1905, pp. 270 ff.), and the other in Āsāmī language, from Auniati-satra, Āsām. One Ghanaśyāma (?) wrote a commentary on this book. A manuscript in Newāri script has also been found in the Durbār Library, Nepāl.

Hastamuktāvalī is a book on nātya. It is said that it was composed in the middle of the seventeenth century A.D., before Subhankara wrote the Sangīta-dāmodara. It has recently been published from the music Academy of Madras, edited by Dr. Maheśvar Neog of Gauhātī College, Āsām. Dr. Maheśvar Neog is of the opinion that the author of the Sangīta-dāmodara is quite different from the author of the Hastamuktāvalī. But most of the scholars hold that the authors of both the books is one and the same.

11. GĪTA-PRAKĀŚA: The manuscript has been found in Odissi language. The author of this monumental book is Kṛṣṇadās. In the preface of the Siddhānta-ratnākara (published from Śrī Nimvārka Sodha-maṇ-ḍala, Vṛndāvana, and edited by Visveśvararśaraṇa, 1956), Govinda Śarmā said: स्वामीजी और कृष्णदास का नाम साथ-साथ आया है। कृष्णदास का देहान्त १६३२ विo के आसपास हुआ है।

That is, Kṛṣṇadās died in 1632 A.D. Most probably Kṛṣṇadās is the author of Gītaprakāśa. The Gītaprakāśa was composed between the times of Rudra Gajapati and Śrī Chaitanya and Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva, the author of the Saṅgītanārāyaṇa, in the sixteenth-eighteenth century A.D. This authentic book was a source of inspiration to many of the books like Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa, Saṅgīta-saraṇī, Saṅgīta-kāmoda, Saṅgīta-dāmodara,

etc., and once it was used as a reference book in Greater Bengal. The author of this book, Kṛṣṇadās informed us about Rāmānanda Kavirāja in connection with Kṣudra-gīta-prabandha in guṇḍakirī-rāga, called chitrapadā ('उदाहरणं यथा गीतप्रकाशे गुण्डकरि-रागेण'). Kṛṣṇadās said : 'जयह स्ट्रगजेशमुद्वितं रामानन्द कविराय कविगीतम्'. Dr. Rāghavan said that this Rudra is Vīra Rudra Gajapati, the Utkal King, contemporary to the famous Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, whom the latter defeated and whose daughter the latter married. Rāmānanda Rāy was a mystic poet. He was once the political officer or local governor at Vidyānagara, on the Godāvarī river, under the Gajapati King Pratāparudra. Rāmānanda's father was Bhavānanda. From the Gītaprakāsa we know that Rāmānanda Rāy was well-versed in the classical music.

It is mentioned in the Madras MS. Trien, Catalogue 1919-20 to 1921-22, R. 3176d that the Gītaprakāŝa is divided into 15 chapters, and they are: (1) prabandha-lakṣaṇaṃ, (2) chāyā-laga-nirūpaṇaṃ, (3) rūpaka-bhedanirūpaṇaṃ, (4) tāla-kalāvichā-raḥ, (5) khaṇḍa-vichāraḥ, (6) kṣudragīta-prakaraṇaṃ, (7) gīta-guṇa-vichāraḥ, (8) doṣa-nirūpaṇaṃ, (9) nṛtta-lakṣaṇaṃ, (10) vādya-lakṣaṇaṃ, (11) rāga-vichāraḥ, (12) ṣādava-nirūpaṇaṃ, (13) gīta-praśaṁsā, (14) nāyikā-lakṣaṇaṃ, (15) nāta-vichāraḥ (vide Journal complete MS. is available in the Madras MSS. Library. Kavi-MSS. of it, together with the MSS. of Saṅgīta-saraṇī, Saṅgīta-These have also been mentioned in the Anjar Cat., Vol. II.

12. SANGĪTA-SARAŅĪ: It was written by Kavi-Nārāyaṇa, who was greatly indebted to Kṛṣṇadās of the Gītaprakāśa. It is said that Kṛṣṇadās was the musicthink otherwise, and consider that Kṛṣṇadās of the Gītaprakāśa and Kṛṣṇadās, the teacher of Haridās are quite different. It is said that Kavi-Nārāyaṇa was the son of Puruṣottama-Miśra, the spiritual teacher of King Nārāyaṇa-dev. Dr. Sukumār Sen said in his A History of Brajabuli (p. 263) that Puruṣottama-Miśra was mostly known by the name Premadās or Premānanda-dās (1712 A.D.). Dr. Sen stated: 'The poet's real name was Puruṣottama Miśra, and he obtained the title 'siddhānta-vāgīśa'. Dr. Rāghavan was of the opinion that 'the King (Gajapati Nārāyaṇa-dev) had, in his court, many poets and scholars, one of whom was his guru, Puruṣottama-Miśra, who had the title of Kavi-Ratna' (—JMA, 1933, p. 75). But it seems that Puruṣottama held both the titles, 'siddhānta-vāgīśa' and 'kavi-ratna'. Regarding this title, kaviratna, we know from the introductory verses of the Saṅgīta-saraṇī:

नारायणारूयमिश्रेण कविरत्नेन यत्नतः। वितायते सतां प्रत्ये-र्सङ्घोतसरणिः स्फुटा ॥

इति श्रीशाण्डिल्यवंशावतंसायित सकलशास्त्रकुशल सङ्घीतसाहित्यविद्याण्वकण्धारकित्रिटन-पुरुषोत्तमिश्रस्य आत्मजेन किवरत्न-नारायणिमश्रोण विरिच्तायां सङ्घीतसाणी
गीताभिधानं नाम प्रथमः प्रवेशः समाप्तः (Vide JMA, Madras, 1933, p. 76).
From these it is evident that Kavi Nārāyaṇa's real name was
Nārāyaṇa-Miśra, and he got the title of 'kaviratna', like his
Nārāyaṇa-Miśra, and he got the title of 'kaviratna', like his
father. Kavi-Nārāyaṇa quoted many musical compositions
of his father, in his Sangīta-saraṇī. Puruṣottama-Miśra was
of his father, in music, which is proved by his book,
also well-versed in music, which is proved by his book,

It is found that many of the music materials of the Sangītanārāyaṇa have been quoted in the Sangīta-saraṇī. Kavi Nārāyaṇa specially mentioned two varieties of prabandha-gītis,
śuddha and sūtra. Many of the prabandhas are possessed of
peculiar names like balabhadravijaya, śunkara-vihāra, kṛṣṇavilāsa,
peculiar names like balabhadravijātakalalita, śrīkṭṣṇavilāsa, etc.
ūṣābhilāsa, navanāgalalita, medinījātakalalita, śrīkṭṣṇavilāsa, etc.
These are known as the śuddha-prabandha. The sūtra-prabandhas
are: guṇḍichā-vijayasūtra, rāmābhyudaya-sūtra, rāghavavijāyasūtra,
etc.

13. SANGĪTA-NĀRĀYAŅA: It was composed by Gajapati Nārāyaņa-dev of Khemundi, a place in

Southern Orissā, in the 17th century A.D. Dr. Raghavan said in his Latter Sangita-Literature that Nārāyaṇa-dev was the King of Parlakimedi or of the Khemundi line. 'The work opens with an account of the dynasty of King Nārāyana, who belongs to the Ganga dynasty. He was the son of Padmanabha'. R. D. Banerji said: 'In the twenty-third anka, the Khurda territories were attached by another chief, named Nārāyaņa-dev of Parlakimedi and Vīra Kiśora's Diwan was sent * * ' (vide History of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 120). R. Sewell mentioned that one Vīra-Pratāparudra-Nārāyaņa-dev, son of a Padmanābha lived between 1748 and 1766 A.D. (vide Archaeological Survey of South-India, pt. II, p. 186). Kavichandra Kāli Charana Pattanāik of Cuttack wrote to me: 'I have collected six different readings of the manuscripts, of Sangita-nārāyaņa, from different parts of Orissa, and each manuscript the name of the author is Gajapati Nārāyaņa-dev of Khemundi * * . You have dated Sangita-nārāyaņa at the last quarter of the 18th century A.D. which should be 17th century A.D. I have collected this information from the family chronology (krushināmā) of the Khemundi Rāj family, to which the author of Sangīta-nārāyana belongs' (letter Ref. No. RF (1) 246/58, dated the 10th May, 1958). The Sangita-nārāyaṇa is available in the Madras MSS. Library also (vide also Trien Cat. 1919-20 to 21-22 MS. No. R. 3234, and Cat. 1922-25, R. 4212).

The Sangita-nārāyaṇa contains four chapters: (1) the first chapter contains nāda or causal sound, ŝruti or microtone, svara or note, grāma or scale, rāga or melody, gīta or song, and drumming; (2) The second chapter contains vādya or (4) the fourth one, prabandha. Many music materials have been quoted in it from the Nārada-samhitā, Panchamasāra-samhitā, Sangīta-ratnamālā, Brhaddeśī, Sangītasāra, Sangīta-

darpaņa, Sangīta-kalpataru, Sangīta-chandrikā, etc. A copy of the

Sangīta-Nārāyaṇa is in the Boodlin Library, London.

It is said that Nārāyaṇa-deva wrote also the Alamkārachandrikā. The chandrikā deals with the topics of the alamkāras, applicable to music. These alamkāras are 50 in number : 'इति प्रसिद्धालङ्काराः पञ्चाशत परिकोर्तिताः'। Some are of the opinion that the real author of this book is Purusottama Miśra. Dr. Rāghavan said that King Nārāyana mentioned also the names of Kṛṣṇadatta, Vāchaspati, and others.

- SANGITA-KAMODA: It was written by Gopināth-14. Kavibhūṣaṇa. He was the son of Vāsudeva Pātra of Karana family, who was the guru and court-physician of King Jagannāth-Nārāyaņa : "करणकुत्तसम्भव कवि भिष्यवर बासुदेव-पात्रतनय श्रीमद गोपीनाथ कवि-भूषणकृतौ कविचिन्तामणौ * *'। Dr. Rāghavan said that it is a work mainly on poetics and dramaturgy, and the 24th chapter has been devoted to music.
- 15. SANGĪTASĀRA: It is said that this book was written by Harinayaka-Sūri. His name has been mentioned in the Sangīta-saranī and Sangīta-nārāyana. Gajapati Nārāyana-deva quoted Harināyaka-Sūri as one of the great authorities on music: 'सङ्गीतसार-हरिनायकरत्नमाला-गीतप्रकाश-मुखदर्शित-वटर्मनेव' or 'तदुक्त' हरिनायकेण' or 'हरिनायकन्तु अनिवद्धमाह-आनि प्रिरिनवद्धं स्यात् रागालापनरूपिणी'। (vide Journal of the Music Academy, Madras, 1933, pp. 73-74). Dr. Rāghavan was of the opinion that 'Harināyaka has described many difficult and rare prabandhas in his work from Bharata's treatise, and the illustrations of these are to be found in the Gitaprakāśa'.
 - KĀLANKURA-NIBANDHA: It was written in Oriyā language by one Kaviratna Kālankara. It is said that 16. he wrote a new version (rāgamālikā) on the rāga chapter of the Sangita-darpana by Pandit Damodara. Some are

of the opinion that when Kālankara mentioned: 'दामोदरेण' स्वयन्थे यथोक्ता रागमालिका', he meant by the work 'दामोदरेण' the book, Sangīta-dāmodara by Subhankara. But this does not seem correct, as he meant Paṇḍit Dāmodara or Dāmodara Miśra of the Sangīta-darpaṇa. King Nārāyaṇa also quoted Kālankara, in connection with rhythm (tāla), and called him as one of his preceptors: 'अस्मद्गुह कविरत्निमिश'। Dr. Rāghavan is of the opinion that 'it is likely that this Kaviratna, contemporary and teacher of King Nārāyaṇa, is identical with the author of Kālankara-nibandha'.

- 17. SANGĪTASĀRA-SAMGRAHAMU: It is a Telegu Kāvya on music, dedicated to Siva Akalanka. It was written by Tiruvenkata Kavi, published by Music Academy of Madras. This book was probably produced in Tāñjore.
- 18. SANGĪTASĀRA-SAMGRAHA: Written by King Jagaijyotiramalla of Nepāl, in 1617-1633 A.D. (Nepāl Era 799). This book deals with music, dance and drama in prose and verse.
- 19. SANGĪTASĀRA-SAMGRAHA: Written by Paṇḍit Narahari Chakravurty or Ghanaśyāmadāsa II. It was composed in the early 18th Century A.D. It is purely a book of collection, containing all the topics on svara, rāga, tāla, vādya, rasa, abhinaya, etc. Paṇḍit Narahari was a devout Vaiṣṇava saint and a great scholar. It remained unpublished so long. Recently a correct and reliable manuscript has been procured and published from the Rāmakṛṣṇa Vedānta Maṭḥ, Calcutta, critically edited by Svāmī Prajñānānanda with an introduction in English by the present author in 1956.

Narahari Chakravurty repeatedly mentioned the names of Sangītasāra by Harinārāyaṇa-Sūri (1500 A.D.), Sangīta-siromaṇī, Nārada-samhītā, Sangīta-muktāvalī, Gīta-prakāśa, etc. in his

Sangītsāra-samgraha and Bhaktiratnākara. In the Sangīta-nārā-yaṇa by King Nārāyaṇa-deva (1760 A.D.), we find the names of Gita-prakāśa, Sangīta-śiromaṇī, Sangīta-nārāyaṇa of Puruṣottama Miśra (1730-1750 A.D.), Sangīta-nārāyaṇa by King Nārāyaṇa-deva, Sangītasāra by Harināyaka (Sūri), Kavichintāmaṇi by Gopīnāth Kavibhuṣaṇa. The Gīta-prakāśa was written in Utkala Pradeśa or Orissā.

- 20. SANGĪTASĀRA-SAMGRAHA: Collected and compiled by Rājā S. M. Tagore. It was published in 1875 by J. C. Vasu Company, Calcutta. It contains six chapters on svara, rāga, tāla, vādya, nrtya, nātya, etc. In the rāga chapter, Sir S. M. Tagore elaborately dealt with the rāgas and rāgiņīs, and their different dhyānas from the books like Nārada-samhitā, Sangīta-darpaṇa, Rāgārṇava, Sangītasāra, Sangīta-nārāyaṇa, Sangīta-chandrikā, etc.
- 21. SANGITASĀRA-SAMGRAHA: It is a collection of Bengali songs, of the 19th century.
- 22. SANGĪT-RĀGA-KALPADRUMA: by Paṇḍit Kṛṣṇānanda Vyāsa. In fact, it was written under the patronage
 of the Rādhākānta Deb Bāhādur of Śobhābāzār, Calcutta.
 It was compiled in 1843 in Bengali, Hindi and Sanskrit.
 It is a collection of dhruvapada, kheyāl, and other traditional types of songs, together with a theoretical portion
 in Sanskrit, compiled from different original books on
 music.
- 23. SANGĪTA-TARANGA: by Rādhāmohan Sen. It was published twice in 1225 and 1256 B.S. It was written in Bengali verses, and deals with the topics on svara, rāga, tāla, prabandha, etc. The chapters on svara, and rāga have specially been dealt with, throwing some new light.
- SANGIT-TARANGA: compiled by Rādhāmohan Sen.
 It was published in 1245 B.S. It is not now available.

- RASIKA-MANORAÑJANA: by Rāmanidhi Gupta (Nidhu Bābu). It is a book on Bengali tappā, published in 1820-1830 A.D.
- 26. YANTRAKOŞA: by Rājā S. M. Tagore. It was published in 1282 B.S. Various musical instruments of the East and West have nicely been described in it. It is a unique book of musical instruments in Bengali.
- 27. SANGĪTSĀRA: by Kṣetra Mohan Gosvāmī. It was published from Calcutta in 1286 B.S. (1879 A.D.). It was written in Bengali, and contains theory, history, and many songs, with dandā-mātrika notations.
- 28. YANTRAKȘETRA-DĪPIKĀ: by Kṣetra Mohan Gosvāmī, published in Calcutta in 1890. Both current and rare rāgas have been depicted with daṇḍa-mātrika notations, for musical instruments. It is an authentic book of reference in Bengali.
- 29. GITAGOVINDA: A book on the daṇḍa-mātrika notations of the padagānas of Ṭḥākur Jayadeva. The notations were made by Kṣetra Mohan Gosvāmi, in Aṣāḍa, 1278 B.S. The book was published from the Vaṅga-Nātyālaya, Pāthuriāghātā, Calcutta. The rāgas, selected and added to the padagānas, are quite different from those, mentioned in the original Gītagovinda, and their melodic forms are of the modern types, such as, rāga-yogīyā—tāla-teoḍa, rāga-bihaṅgaḍā—tāla-āḍā, rāga-bhimpalaśrī, etc. Kṣetra Mohan Gosvāmī mentioned in master Rāmaśaṅkara Bhattāchārya of Viṣṇupur, Bāṅkurā, Bengal.
- 30. SANGITA-RATNĀKARA: by Navīn Chandra Dutt of Calcutta. The book has been dedicated to Sir S. M. Tagore, as the author is indebted to the Rājā in many

respects, for the collection of the materials of the book. The book is in Bengali, and contains 300 pages. It is divided into five chapters, namely svara, rāga (with dandamātrika notations of the songs), vādya (with some illustrations of the musical instruments), tāla, and nrtya. An Appendix and a long Introduction have been added to the book. It is not now available.

- 31. RĀGAMĀLĀ: by Fazil Nachir Muhammed. The author came from East Bengal. The book was written in 1086 B.S. Nachir Muhammed was the disciple of Peer Muhammed, and was born in Sultānpur, Chittāgong. Forty two rāgas, with their rāginīs, their characteristic features, and dhyānas have nicely been described in Bengali. It is not now available.
- 32. DHYĀNAMĀLĀ: by Ālī Rājā or Kāmu Fakir. It was published from somewhere in East Bengal. It is not available.
- 33. THE EIGHT PRINCIPAL RĀGAS OF THE HINDUS: (English): by Rājā S. M. Tagore. It was published in 1880, from Calcutta.
- 34. SIX PRINCIPAL RĀGAS OF THE HINDUS: (English): by Rājā S. M. Tagore. It was published from Calcutta in 1877, with 8 plates.
- 35. UNIVERSAL HISTORY OF MUSIC: (English):
 Compiled by Rājā S. M. Tagore, and published in 1896,
 from Calcutta. It contains the history of music of
 Asian and European countries.
- 36. MUSIC BY VARIOUS AUTHORS: (English): Compiled by Rājā S. M. Tagore. It was published in two parts, in one volume, in 1882, from Calcutta. It contains reprints from the music books by the Western authors

- like Capt. N. A. Willard, Sir William Jones, Sir William Ousley, J. D. Paterson, F. Fowke, F. Gladwin, and others.
- 37. SEVEN PRINCIPAL MUSICAL NOTES OF THE HINDUS (With their presiding deities): Written by Rājā S. M. Tagore, and published in 1892, from Calcutta.
- 38. HINDU MUSIC (English): Written by Rājā S. M. Tagore, and published in 1875, from Calcutta.
- 39. THE MUSICAL SCALES OF THE HINDUS: (English): Written by Rājā S. M. Tagore, and published in 1884, from Calcutta. There are also other books on music by Rājā S. M. Tagore in English and Bengali.
- 40. THE GĀNDHARVA KALĀPA VYĀKARAŅAM (Sanskrit): Compiled by Rājā S. M. Tagore, published by Śaśībhūṣan Kṛtiratna-Bhattāchārya, in 1824 Śaka.
- 41. GĪTASŪTRASĀRA: Written by Kṛṣṇadhone Banerjee. It was published with a long Appendix by Himānśu Śekhar Banerji, in 1341 B.S. The first volume deals with the theory and history of music, and the second volume contains the staff notation of many musical compositions.
- 42. GĪTASŪTRASĀRA (Eng.): Translator's explanations and notes to Kṛṣṇadhone Banerjee's 'Gītasūtrasāra', Vol. II, part II, by Himānśu Śekhar Banerji of Baharampur (Bengal), published by Nirendra Nāth Banerjee, Calcutta in September, 1941 A.D. It is an explanatory exhaustive and illuminating notes on the Gītasūtrasāra. It deals with modes and scales, natural tempered scales, laya or tempo, rhythm, drumming, Sanskrit metres, musical forms, rāga, vādī samvādī, etc., rāgas in notation, merits and demerits, proper season and time for rāga, graces and ornaments, Tamburā and suggested improvements for it, svara, mela, śruti, grāma, ancient grāmas and

corresponding modern notes, etc. This English note book may be called the 'Grammar and Theory of Indian Music'.

- 43. HĀRĀMAŅI: It was edited by Prof. Muhammed Manusuruddīn of Rājsāhī College, and published by the Calcutta University in 1942. It is a collection of folksongs like bāul, bhātiyāli, jārī, sārī, gāzī, etc. An illuminating Introduction was written by Kaviguru Rabīndra Nāth Tagore.
- 44. PATUĀ-SANGITA: Many of the songs of the *Patuās* have been collected and edited by Gurusadaya Dutt, I.C.S. It was published by the University of Calcutta in 1939.
- 45. PŪRVA-VANGA-GITIKĀ: It is a collection of the love-episodes and ballads of East Bengal. Most of the ballads of East Bengal were collected by late Chandra Kumār De. Afterwards they were edited by Rāi Bāhādur Dineś Chandra Sen, and was published by the Calcutta University, in several volumes. Besides, Nagendranāth De, Āśutoṣ Chowdhury, and others helped to collect the ballads.
 - 46. MAIMANSINGHA-GITIKĀ: It contains the folksongs and ballads of Maimansingha and its adjacent places, in East Bengal. It was edited by Rāi Bāhādur Dineś Chandra Sen, and published by the Calcutta University.

Besides these books, there are hundreds of other books on music, written by the personalities like Rāma Prasanna Banerji and Gopeśvar Banerji of Viṣṇupur, Bāṅkurā, Surendra Nāth Banerjee, Rabīndra Nāth Tagore, Rajanī Kānta Sen (Kānta-Kavi), Atul Prasād Sen, Dvījendralāl Roy, Dilīp Kumār Roy, Kāzi Nazrul, and many other composers and artists.

B

Non-musical Books containing Musical Materials

- SADUKTI-KARŅĀMŖTA: Written by Śrīdhar Dās, and published in 1206 A.D.
- 2. KĪRTILATĀ (KĀVYA): Written by Kavi Vidyāpati in 1400 A.D. It was composed in śaurasenī-apabhramśa, with maithilī language. The second chapter Śrngāra-pravāha deals with gīta, vādya and nrtya.
- 3. KṢAŅADĀ-GĪTA-CHINTĀMAŅI: Written by the Vaiṣṇava savant, Viśvanāth Chakravurty.
- 4. KĪRTANA-GĪTA-RATNĀVALĪ: Written by Kālidās Nāth.
- 5. PADĀMRTA-SINDHU: It is an authentic book of the Vaiṣṇava community. It was written by Ṭḥākur Rādhā Mohan Sen, who was contemporary to Ghana-śyāma-Narahari (early 18th century A.D.). It contains dhyānas of some principal rāgas, which were composed according to Rāṇā Kumbhā's Sangītarāja. The later commentators of the Gītagovinda have also followed him, in composing the dhyānas of the rāgas.
- 6. PADAKALPATARU: Written and collected by Gokulānanda Sen, Vaiṣṇava-dās.
- 7. KĪRTANĀNANDA: Written by Gour Sundar Dās.
 - 8. CHANDĪDĀS-PADĀVALĪ: Vol. I was edited by Dr. Sunīti Kumār Chatterji and Paṇḍit Hare Kṛṣṇa Mukherjee and published in 1341 B.S., with a learned Introduction.
- 9. MAHĀJANA-PADĀVALĪ: Written by Jagabandhu Bhadra. Part I contains the padāvalīs of Vidyāpati, published in 1874, and part II contains the padāvalīs of

Chandidas, published in 1875, from Kumerkhali, East Bengal.

- 10. MANGALA-KĀVYAS: These are the socio-politico-religious literature of Bengal. The Mangala-kāvyas were written by different authors in different periods. Probably Bhārata Chandra's Annadā-mangal of the 18th century is the last Kāvya. These Kāvyas contain many important materials of music. Various rāgas and musical instruments specially of Bengal, have been described in these Kāvyas. Dr. Āśutoṣ Bhattāchārya, M.A., Ph.D. of the Calcutta University has done creditable research work on the Mangala-kāvyas of Bengal. His book Mangala-Kāvyer Itihās (Beng.) is a unique contribution to the domain of history and Bengali literature. His Bānglār Loka-Sāhitya is also worth-mentioning.
- 11. Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana: It was written by Ṭḥākur Chaṇḍī-dāsa (Vaḍu). It was edited by Vasanta Rañjan Roy, and published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, in 1916.
- 12. MĀRKAŅDEYA-PURĀŅA: The chapter 23 contains the topics on music. The jātirāgas, grāmarāgas, together with the deśi rāgas have been described in it. It was published from Nirnaya-Sāgara Press, Bombay (Sanskrit), and Vangavāsī Press, Calcutta (Bengali).
 - 13. VĀYU-PURĀNA: The chapters 86-87 are devoted to the discussion on music. It was published from both Bombay and Calcutta. From Calcutta it was edited first, by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgar Bhattāchārya, and secondly, by Pandit Pañchānan Tarkaratna and was published from the Vangavāsī Press.
 - 14. VIȘNUDHARMOTTARA-PURĂŅA: The chapters 3, 18, 19 are devoted to music i.e., rāgas, tālas, nṛtya,

- nātya, and different musical instruments, etc. It is an encyclopædic work, containing all the Fine Arts, and history, politics, geography etc. It was published from the Venkateśvara Press, Bombay.
- 15. VṛHADDARMA-PURĀṇA: The chapter madhya-khaṇḍa, No. 14 has been devoted to the discussion on music.
- 16. LINGA-PURĀŅA: The uttara-bhāga, 2-3 contains the topics on music. It was published by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara Bhattāchārya, from Calcutta, in 1885. It was also edited by Pañchānan Tarkaratna, and was published from the Vangavāsī Press, Calcutta.
- 17. AGNI-PURĀŅA: It is also an encyclopædic work, in which all subjects have been discussed, including nrtya, gīta, vādya, nātya, etc. It was edited and published by Paṇḍit Jīvananda Vidyāsāgara Bhattāchārya, in 1882, from Calcutta. It was also published by the Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay.
- 18. AITIHĀSIKA-RAHASYA: Written by Rāmdas Sen, and published in 1876. It contains four essays on music: (a) Bhāratavarṣer Sangīta-śāstra, (b) Sangīta-śāstrānugata-Nṛtya-Abhinaya, (c) Svara-vijñāna, (d) Rāga-nirṇaya.
- 19. BHAKTI-RATNĀKARA: Written by Ghanaśyāma-Narahari Chakravurty of the early 18th century. It was first published from Baharampur, Murśidābād, and then from the Gaudiya Mission, Calcutta, in 1940. The fifth chapter (pañchama-taranga) has been devoted to discussions on music.
- 20. GĪTA-CHANDRODAYA: Written by Narahari Chakravurty. It was edited by Svāmī Prajñānānanda and published by Rāmakṛṣṇa Vedānta Maṭḥ, Calcutta. It is a

voluminous book, and its last two chapters have been devoted to the discussions on tāla and rāga, etc.

21. ŚRĪKŖṢŅĀRĀSĀ-SĀŅĢITĀ-SĀMĢRĀHĀ: This book on music was compiled in the time of Gambhir Singh, Mahārāj of Manipur in 1825-1834. It is one of the standard works in Sanskrit on the classical tradition of Manipurī Samkīrtana. The verses have been written on the style and pattern of the Sangītasāra-samgraha and the Gītachandrodaya by Ghanaśyam-Naraharidās in the early 18th century A.D.

The book contains seven chapters on svara, nāda, śruti, rāga, grāma, mūrcchanā, etc. Many citation from the contemporary Sangīta literature are found in the book. The chapter five of the book deals with kṣudragīti, dhruva and manṭḥa, chitrapada, chitrakalā, pāūchālī, etc. Besides, graha, laya, yati, māna etc. have been discussed. The chapter VII deals with the traditional Vaiṣṇava form of prayer along with the prabandha-gānas. The descriptions of the rāgas have been given from the Rasollāsa-Tantra, the Geetāvalī, the Alamkāra-kaustubha, the Govinda-līlāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj.

- ŚRĪ GOVINDA-LILĀMŖTA: Written by Kṛṣṇādās Kavirāj Gosvāmī and published by Haridās Dās, in Chaitanyāvda 463.
- 23. ĀNANDA-VŖNDĀVANA-CHAMPU: Written by Kavi Karņapūr. It was published by Śyāmlāl Śrī Kṛṣṇalāl Gupta, from Bombay, in 1867. The 20th chapter has been devoted to music.
 - 24. GITĀVALĪ: Written by Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmī.
 - 25. SANGĪTA-MADHYA: Written by Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī.
 - 26. Other books like the Gita-kalpataru, Rāgamālā, Āgama-

- sangita, Rāga-mārga-lahari, and Gita-chintāmaņi are worth-mentioning.
- 27. ŚIVA-SANGĪTA or ŚIVA-SANKĪRTANA: Written by Rāmeśvara. MS. No. 16, in the Cooch Behār State Library.
- 28. PADĀVALĪ: by Balarāmdās. Balarāmdās was contemporary to Śrī Chaitanya (1486-1527 A.D.).
- 29. BALARĀM-DĀSER-PADĀVALĪ: Edited by Br. Amar Chaitanya, and published by the Nava-Bhārata Publishers, Rādhā Bāzār Street, Calcutta, in 1958. Dr. Sukumār Sen has contributed an illuminating Introduction to it, and A Short History of Padāvalī-Kīrtana, written by Svāmī Prajñānānanda, has been added. It is a collection of the padas or padagītis by Balarāmdās.
- 30. KĀLI-KĪRTANA: by Kavirañjana Rāmprasād Sen. It was first published during his time (probably 1720-1730 A.D.). It contains 29 kīrtana, of which 17 are composed with the sentiments of motherly love (vātsalyarasa), 5 with the themes of pūrva-rāga, 1 hymn, and 1 with the description of rāsalīlā. Rāmprasād was born in Hālīsahar, in Hooghly district. According to Vijayarām was born in Kumerahattā. It is said that Rāmprasād was also influenced in Vaiṣṇavism by Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa. But he mostly wrote the Kālikīrtanas.
- 31. SANGITA-GOURISVARA: by Gangādhara Tarka-vāgiša Bhattāchārya. It was composed on the 2nd Vaišākha, in 1772 Šaka Era, i.e. in 1850 A.D. It was printed in Samvāda Prabhākara Press. It was written in both Sanskrit and Bengali verses. The author composed some of the songs, imitating the verses of Jayadeva, but the themes of his composition were of Šīva-Sakti.

It must, therefore, be admitted that Bengal made an immense contribution in the field of Indian music, both classical and folk. Thousands of composers and singers appeared in Bengal, and joined their hands in a spirit of amity and love. Different types of music, with their novel technique and texture, came forth. Artists and lovers of music adopted new methods and modes of classical music from outside of Bengal,-from Delhi, Āgrā, Gwālior, Punjāb, Jaunpur, Banaras, Gayā, Lucknow, and other places, enriched their treasures, by inventing many new forms of music and methods of presentation, composed innumerable songs, and wrote and compiled many treatises on music, impregnated with the spirit and religious sentiment of Bengal. Their honest attempts were successful. Let, therefore, the noble culturists and pioneers of Indian music of Bengal combine in a spirit of friendship to collect, culture, and preserve music and musical literature of Bengal, so as to prove the glorious and undying legacy of the cultural atmosphere and tradition of Bengal. But I Subject to the property of the day better the property for the second state of

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

GĪTAGOVINDA-PADAGĀNA IS THE BACKGROUND OF PADĀVALĪ-KĪRTANA

The Padāvalī-kīrtana of Bengal is a classical type of nibaddha-karaṇa-prabandha-gāna of the sūḍa-class. It is possessed of dhātu, aṅga, tāla, rāga, and different emotional contents. It is devotional-cum-spiritual in nature. It has a tradition and a special feature of its own. Its sāhitya in sweet vrajabūlī-bhāṣā as well as the method of improvisation or gāyakī are unique ones.

I proceed herewith to prove briefly that the Gitagovindapadagāna of Kavi Jayadeva really forms the background of evolution of the Padāvalī-kīrtana of Bengal. The word 'kīrtana' is a general term that conveys the idea of a devotional song, sung in eulogy of a god, deity, or superman, and for that reason it is also called the Yaśogāna or kīrtigāthā-gāna. The dictionary meaning of the term, kīrtana is kīrti-krita +kthin in relation to khyātiḥ or yaśaḥ i.e. reputation. Vāchaspatyābhidhāna stated: "khyātibhede amarah/khyātibhedaścha dhārmikatvādi-praśasta-dharmavatvena nānā-deśiyakathana-jñāna-viṣayatā/kīrtiścha jīvato mṛtasya vetyatra viśeṣo nasti/ * * tatra dānādiprabhavā khyātih kīrtih śauryādiprabhavā khyātiryaśa iti kechid yaśaḥkīrtyor-bhedamāhuḥ." Manu has also said in his Samhītā: "prajñām yaśaścha brahmavarchasameva cha". So it is clear that the term 'kīrtana' is a song in praise of conception or knowledge or quality or power or glory of a god, or a superman. In the Bhagavatam, kīrtana or kirtigāna has been used for a song in praise of divinity and greatness of Sri Krsna. In the 15th-16th century A.D., Śrī Chaitanya and his followers used this song for signifying the divine sportive play or līlā as well as the greatness or mahimā of the all-powerful Creator. In the Pancharātrasamhitas and Puranas, the word kirtana has been used for

singing a song in praise of Vāsudeva or Viṣṇu and of his different emanations. As for example, in the Bhāgavatam, it has been mentioned : "randhrān veņoradharasudhayā pūrayan gopavindairvindāraņyam svapada-ramaņam prāvišad gītakīrtih." The term gītakīrtih has been defined as "gītā kīrtih yasah yasya sa Śri-Kṛṣṇah", i.e. kīrtana means a kind of song $(g\bar{a}na)$, sung in praise of divine sportive plays of Śri Kṛṣṇa, and it is sung by a band of singers in a raised voice: "gāyanta ucchairamumeva samhatāh" (X. 30. 4). In all parts of India, kīrtana is sung in praise of Śrī Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu-Bhagavān by the band of singers, and it is recognised as the devotional bhajan. In Bengal, it evolved first in the form of the Nāma-kīrtana and was introduced by Srī Chaitanya himself; and then in the form of Rasa or Līla-kīrtana and it was introduced by Narottamadas in a Vaisnava festival at Khetari in the mode of classical dhruvapada in vilambita-laya.

Regarding kirtana, one of the Vaiṣṇava savants Gopāla Bhatta said in the Haribhaktivilāsa (XI. 239): "kalau samkīrtya kešavaṃ" or "kalau taddharikīrtanāt." Sanātana Gosvāmī kešavaṃ" or "kalau taddharikīrtanāt." Sanātana Gosvāmī has also said: "saṃkīrtanaṃ nāmocchāraṇaṃ gītaṃ stutischa nāmamayī." That is, kīrtana is sung in raised voice with the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Gopāla Bhatta prescribed this type of name of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Gopāla Bhatta prescribed this type of kīrtana, as it is a combination of nṛtta and vādya. He has said kīrtana, as it is a combination of nṛtta and vādya. He has said that this type of kīrtana is meant for the Vaiṣṇavas i.e. for the devotees of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. In South India, the devotional kīrtana was prevalent among the mediæval Saint-singers, viz., the Nāyanmārs and Ālwārs of Tāmil-land and that kīrtana was known as the divya-prabandha-gāna. It was then introduced by their successors in Karṇātaka, Mahārāṣtra, Gujarāt and other places.

Sometimes it is believed that padāvalī-kīrtana evolved from the nāma-kīrtana. But that is not correct, as from a close study of both padāvalī-kīrtana and the Gītagovinda-padagāna it is known that padāvalī-kīrtana evolved with the materials of the Gītagovinda-padagāna which evolved after the ideal of Charyā and vajra gānas of the Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna

Buddhists in the 12th century A.D. It is also known from the comparative study of the Gitagovinda and the Padāvalikīrtana that both the gānas were composed as the means of worship or upāsanā in twofold ways, and they were known as aiśvarya in the vidhimārga and mādhurya in the form of rasāsvādana or realization of different divine æsthetic sentiments. The author of the Gitagovinda made Śrī Kṛṣṇa the centre of the themes of all songs, and has recognised him as the embodiment of prime-sentiment, sringara. Similar conception is found in the padāvalī-kīrtana, Besides, it is evident that both Kavi Jayadeva and the later mystic Vaisnava composers (Mahājanas) have adopted Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-tattva as the central theme of their padas and padāvalīs, and from this adoption, different pālāgānas like māna, dāna, kaņditā, māthura, rāsa, naukāvilāsa etc. were composed in the padāvalī-kīrtana. It is generally believed that Rādhā-Kr sna-tattva, associated with bhaktitattva, evolved from the Bengal Vaisnavism that was introduced by Sri Chaitanya. But that is not correct, as the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult was prevalent even before Jayadeva and Śrī Chaitanya. Well has it been said by Dr. S. K. De in his Early History of the Vaisnava Faith and Movement in Bengal (1942): "Long before Chaitanya the melodious Padāvalīs of Jayadeva in Sanskrit (?) and the songs of Chandidasa in Bengali had also popularised the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult with their largest of Vaiṣṇava devo sentiments. Even if Chaitanya's religious personality started a new movement or gave a new interpretation to an old faith, his affiliation to the whole trend of Vaisnava tradition of the past cannot be doubted, and its influence on him must have been varied and abundant." Futher he has said: "A Chaitanyite Vaisnava would regard the Gitagovinda not merely as a poetical composition of great beauty, but also as a great religious work, and would feign explain it in terms of his Bhakti-rasa-śāstra. But it must not be forgotten that Jayadeva's poem was composed nearly three hundred years before the appearance of Chaitanya and before the promulgation of the Rasaśāstra of Chaitanyaism." Leaving aside all the controversial

discussions, it can safely be taken that the padāvalī-kīrtana, which was mainly based on the Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, adopted the main principles of Rādhā-Krṣṇa-tattva, together with rāsatattva from those, contained in Jayadeva's Gīta-govinda-padagāna.

The padāvalī-kīrtana took a new and novel course during the time of Narottamadas in the 16th century A.D. It has already been said that Narottamadas introduced the garanhati style of kirtana in slow tempo in the mode of the classical dhruvapada of the North Indian Hindusthani music. It is a fact that afterwards different styles of manoharsahi, reņeti, mandāriņī, jhādkhandī etc. kīrtanas evolved with their special tempi and features, but all of them had their central theme, the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-tattva, as we find it in the padagānas of the Gītagovinda. From the observation we find that the Gitagovinda is divided into twelve chapters (sargas) and each chapter is named after each divine aspect of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the hero or Nāyaka of the songs. Similar things happened in the pālās of padāvalīkīrtana. The mystic Vaisnava composers have composed different pālās or plots of the kīrtana describing the sportive plays of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, and their central themes are Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, the hero and heroine of the plays. And it should be noted that all the plots or pālās are saturated with æsthetic sentiment moods (rasas and bhāvas). It is quite true that the Vaisnava

dās and others afterwards elaborately described sixtyfour sentiments in their Ujjvalanīlāmanī and Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu, Alamkārakaustubha, and Rasamañjarī, etc., in connection with the padāvalī-kīrtana and thus helped the later composers to divinise the themes of the padāvalīs. Not only Pujārī Gosvāmī and Rānā Kumbhā, but also all the commentators of the Gītogovinda described how Kavi Jayadeva divinised his padagānas with æsthetic sentiments and nāyaka-nāyikā-bhāvas long before Rūpa Gosvāmī, Kavi Karṇapūra, and other later Vaiṣṇava Ālamkārikas described and classified the rasas and bhāvas in their respective works, for the purpose of their

proper uses in the padāvalī-kīrtana. It is found that like Jayadeva (as it is evident from the padagānas), the Vaisņava Gosvāmī's also divided the prime-sentiment, śrngāra into vipralambha and sambhoga. The former has again been divided into pūrvarāga, māna, premevaichitta and pravāsa, and the latter into samksipta-sambhoga, samkīrņa-sambhoga, sampannasambhoga and samrddhi-sambhoga. Again the eight sub-sentimental moods like abhisārikā, vāsakasajjā, utkanthitā, vipralabdhā khanditā, kalahāntaritā, proritabhartrkā and svādhīnabhartrkā were divided into sixty-four $(8 \times 8 = 64)$ sentiments. The manifestations of these sixty-four sentiments are also found in the padagānas of the Gitagovinda. The eight main sentiments, as described in Bharata's Nātyasāstra, are quite evident in the Daśāvatārastotra, as described by Kavi Jayadeva, and those main sentiments are śrngāra, hāsya, karuņa, raudra, vīra, bhayānaka, bībhatsa, and adbhuta. In the commentary of the gāna, "śrita-kamalākucha-mandala" etc. (No. 2), Pūjārī Gosvāmī stated: "daśāvatārān kurvate śrī kṛṣṇāya sarvākarṣaṇānandā, tubhyam namo'stu/daśākrititvam prakaṭayannāha/mīnarupeṇa... śri kṛṣṇasya sarvanāyaka-śiroratnatā-pratipādanāya dhīrodā. ttatvādichaturvidha-nāyaka-guņa-samanvayena sarvotkarşāvirbhāvanam prārthayate śritakamaletyādibhih/"1 It has already been said before that the eight main rasas (though afterwards one or two more sentiments like santa and vatsala were added) have been used in the padāvalī-kīrtana of Bengal. And it should be remembered that the Nāyaka, Śrī Kṛṣṇa has been conceived as the embodiment of śrngāra-rasa.

Regarding the composition of different pālās or plots of

^{1.} In this connection, Dr. S. K. De said: "The opening Daśā-vatāra Stotra, as well as the second Jaya-Jaya-Deva-Hare Stotra, presents Kṛṣṇa in his Aiśvarya aspect, not an Avatāra, but as the veritable Supreme deity of many incarnations (daśākṛtikṛte kṛṣṇāya tubhyam namaḥ), omitting all reference to Rādhā but mentioning Śrī or Lakṣmī. As the poem proceeds, the Dhīrodātta Nāyaka becomes Dhīralalita and all the erotic Mīdhurya implications of the theme are developed to their fullest extent."—Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement (Calcutta, 1942), p. 9.

the later padāvalī-kīrtana, it can be said that their ideas are contained as germs (bījākārena) in the Gītagovinda-padogānas. I would like to draw the attention of the readers to the following lines of the Gitagovinda, which really gave the inspiration for composing different pālāgānas like māthura, dāna, rāsa, etc. of the latter padāvalī-kīrtana. The lines are:

(a) Viharati Haririha sarasa-vasante, etc. (I. 28).

(b) Vṛndāvana-vipine parisara-parigata-yamunā-jalapūte, etc. (I. 34).

(c) Rāsarase saha nṛtyaparā Hariṇā yuvatih praśaśamse, etc. (I. 45).

(d) Vṛndāvana-vipine lalitam vitanotu, etc. (I. 47).

Rāsollasabharena vibhramabhrtāmābhīra-vāmabhru-(e) vām, etc. (I. 49).

Vihārati vane rādhā sādhāraņa-praņaye harau, etc. (f)

(II. 10).

Yuvatişu valattışne Kṛṣṇe vihārini mām vinā, etc. (g) (II. 19).

Govindam vraja-sundarīgaņa-vṛtam, etc. (II. 19). (h)

Rādhāmādhāya hṛdaye tatyāja vraja-sundarīh, etc. (i) (III. 1).

Dhīra-samīre yamunā-tīre vasati vane vanamālī, etc. (i)

(V. 9).

Hari Hari yāhi Mādhava yāhi Keśava mā vada (k) kaitava-vādam, etc. (VIII. 2).

Smara-garala-khandanam mama sirasi mandanam, (1) dehi padapallavamudāram, etc. (X. 9).

In this way it can be shown that different pālāgānas of the padāvali-kīrtana were composed by the Mahājana composers with different sportive ideas which are contained in the padaganas of the Gitagovinda.

Besides them, the twelve spiritual principles or tattvas like yugalarūpa, prakāśa and vilāsa, rasāsvādana, mutual bhajana, bhakta and bhagavān, sādhya, sādhana, pūrvarāga and anurāga, abhisāra, vāsakasajja, milana and Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa are found common in both the Gitagovinda-padagāna and padāvali-kirtana. Again

the expression of divine love (prema), which has been conceived in three different ways, praudha, madhya and manda in the Gitagovinda, has also been adopted in the padāvalī-kīrtana. Some thousands of padas were composed by more than three hundred Mahājanas like Vadu Chandidās, Vidyāpati, Gunarāj Khān, Rāy Rāmānanda, Murārī Gupta, Govinda Ghose, Vāsudeva Ghose, Rūpa Gosvāmī, Basu Rāmānanda, Yadunāthdās, Vamsidas, Balaramdas, and others, and it must be admitted that they got inspiration for the composition of those padas from those of the Gitagovinda. Jayadeva was a pioneer composer of the padas in the sringārarasa, which are divine and world-transcending. The picture of Rādhā, as the divine Nāyikā of Nāyaka Śrī-Kṛṣṇa is beautifully painted by Kavi Jayadeva, and it is said that he got the ideas of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa from the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti cult which was prevalent during the time of the Vaisnavite Sena kings towards the end of the 12th century A.D. "Some are of the opinion," said Dr. S. K. De, "that the advent of the Karnatas in Bengal with the Chedi prince Karnadev introduced the Srimadbhagavata emotionalism, which had its most probable origin in Southern India; and it is noteworthy that the Sena kings themselves, who were in all probability Vaisnavas, are described in their inscriptions as Karņāta-Kşatriyas. There can be no doubt, however, that the first and the most important literary record of pre-Chaitanya Vaisnavism in Bengal is the passionate lyrical poem of Jayadeva, which must have been the source of inspiration of such later Bengali poems as the Srikrsna-kirtana of Badu Chandidas (circa end of the 14th century)." To this we would like to add that not only Badu Chandidas, but also all the later Vaisnava Mahajana composers composed their padas or pada-sāhityas, being inspired by the composition of the Gītagovinda. Dr. Bimān Behārī Mazumder was of the opinion that 16th-17th century was the golden age of the compilation of the padāvalī literature, whereas 18th century can be considered as the age of collection (samkalana). The Ksnadagīta-chintāmani of Viśvanāth Chakravarty, the Padāmrtasindhu

of Rādhāmohan Ṭḥākur, the Samkirtanamṛta of Dinabandhudās, the Gitachandrodaya and the Sangīta-samgraha of Narahari Chakravurty, the Kirtanānanda of Gaurasundara-dās, the Padakalpataru of Gokulānanda Sen or Vaiṣṇava-dās were the products of the 18th Century. In the beginning of the 19th Century i.e. in 1728 śaka or 1806 A.D. Kamalākānta-dās composed the Padaratnākara and Gaurīmohan-dās (1849 A.D.) composed the Padakalpalatikā.²

Dr. Mazumder said that the padāvalīs were written for singing, and those songs were known as kīrtana. At first the general audiences could not appreciate the pure types of manoharsāhi and garānhāti kīrtanas, rather they could understand and appreciate well dhap-kīrtana (which evolved in the beginning of the 18th Century), krsna-yātrā, pāñchālī, kavigāna etc. The bāul type of folk song originated already before or during the time of Śrī Chaitanya. Gradually the appreciation of kirtanagāna found its way among the musiclovers of Bengal, and it was really Thakur Narottama-das who popularised the kirtana with its classical form. But it is a fact that the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend of the Gīlagovinda inspired Jīva Gosvāmī, while he beautifully described Śrī Rādhā in the Rādhā-prakaraṇa of the Ujjvalanilamaṇi. The female attendants like Sakhī, Gopī and Dūtī, which are the sweetest imaginative conceptions of Jayadeva, have also been adopted in the padas of the padāvalī-kīrtana by the Mahājana composers.

So, from the close and comparative study of both the Gitagovinda and the padas of the padāvalī-kīrtana, it can be concluded that the finest śrɨngārarasa-kāvya Gitagovinda supplied living inspiration to the mystic Vaiṣṇava composers to compose the padāvalī-kīrtana, and thus the Gitagovinda-padagāna can be recognised as the background of the padāvalī-kīrtana of Bengal.

^{2.} Vide, Rabindra Sāhitye Padāvalīr Sthāna (1368 B.S.), p. 1.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF PADĀVALĪ-KĪRTANA

Kirtana is a religio-devotional type of song, which is sung with classical melody and rhythm in praise of God, hero or superman. It can be said to be the bhojan in his classical form. It is prevalent in all parts of India in some form or other. There must have occurred many changes or modifications in it, at different times, before coming into its present classical form. Some are of the opinion that it might be possible that kīrtana, in its most primitive form, was very simple and crude, and it was mostly prevalent among the aboriginal tribes of India, in remote antiquity. W. G. Archer said in his informative book: The Blue Grove, the Poetry of the Urāons (1940) that he noticed a type of folk or tribal music, called 'kīrtana', among the uncivilized aboriginal Urāons, in the hilly district of Chotanagpur. He is of the opinion that kirtanas or tribal songs of the Urāons and other primitive hilly tribes are probably the precursor or forerunner of the present developed classical type of padāvalī-kirtana, as it is a fact that the simple folk music is the origin of the developed art music. Archer said: 'Uraon dance poems are fitted to the drum rhythms, and are sung by the boys and girls while the dances revolve. Most of them are poems of four lines. dances which have a definite advance and reverse action, the first two lines are called the 'or' or opening movement and the third and fourth lines are known Further he said: 'The 'or' takes the lines of dancers anticlockwise on the circle. After it has been repeated three or four times there is a stop or hitch in the dance and the movement is reversed—the line moving back clockwise, while the kirtana is sung and repeated. Where there are more than four lines in the dance poem, the fifth and sixth lines and the

seventh and eighth are treated as additional kirtana, and after each kirtana has been sung and repeated the dance moves back into the 'or' action and repeats the first two lines before it goes on to the next. A few dances do not have any obvious reverse action, and in these cases the kirtana is sung as an addition or variation to the 'or'—the poem being sung over and again as long as the dance lasts'. In fact, the kirtana of the aboriginal Urāons is a kind of primitive type of dance-music. Generally this type of tribal song is possessed of four lines, and when the Urāons go forward, after singing two lines, it is known as 'or', and when they go backward, after singing the remaining two lines, it is known as 'kirtana'. So it is evident that the tribal songs of the Urāons of Chotānāgpur is a combination of 'or' and 'kirtana', which is quite different from the characteristics of padāvali-kīrtana of the Bengal.

Now, this opinion does not hold good, as kirtana did not evolve from the primitive songs of the Oraons. It is true that folk type of music is the source of origin of classical type, but the classical kirtana evolved from the Nama-kirtana propagated by Śrī Chaitanya. Śrī Chaitanya publicly introduced nāma-kīrtana (i.e. nagar-kirtana) in the streets of different towns and villages, and secretly in the house of Srivasa. That kirtana was known as 'nrtya-sankīrtana', as Śrī Chaitanya used to sing kīrtana with dance. During his time, there were many sampradayas of nāma-kīrtana in Srikşetra or Purī, Kulinagrām, Sāntipur, and Śrikhanda. The main four sampradāyas were headed by four singers, Svarūpa-Dāmodara, Śrivāsa, Mukunda Dutta, and Govinda Ghose, and the main dancers were, Advaita, Nityananda, Haridas, and Vakreśvara. When Śrī Chaitanya used to sing kīrtana around the temple of Śrī Jagannāth, it was known as bedā-kirtana. In fact, Śrī Chaitanya-Mahāprabhu introduced nāma-kīrlana as a means to spiritual sādhanā.

Real origin of kirtana came from the classical kirti-prabandhagāna which is discussed in the Sangita-Ratnākara (vide the prabandha-adhyāya). Dr. Āśutoṣa Bhattāchārya of the Calcutta University collected many folk type of religious love-songs of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa from Puruliā, Jhārgrām, Bānspāhārī, Midnāpore, Mursidabad and other places of West Bengal. Those religious love-songs are known as jhumurā-gāna. In his Loka-Sangīta-Ratnākara, Vols. I-IV, Dr. Bhattāchārya recorded gaurachandrikā, vamsikhanda, māna, abhisārikā, etc. song-plots which similar to those of the classical type of padāvalī-kīrtana. Dr. Bhattacharya has written: "Gradually the folk-type of the Kṛṣṇa-kirtana influenced the Vaiṣṇava-padāvali, but yet it preserved its own form. It is true, he has said, that those folk-type of jhumurā-songs were composed on the type of Mahājana-padāvali, but those songs remained confined in the society of the aboriginal races and took its own novel form. Dr. Bhattacharya has further said: "But we should remember that the jhumurā-songs of the aboriginal races of West Bengal were not composed according to the æsthetic treatises of the Vaisnavas, and so the gaurachandrikā, pūrvarāga, etc. as found in the folk jhumurā-songs of West Bengal are not really the same. The Gaudiya-Vaişnava Mahājana-padāvalīs have many similarities with the padāvalīs of Ādvāra or Ālvāras of South India. The divya-prabandhos of the Alvaras of the South Indian Vaisnava sect were also devoted to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇā cult, and that cult, we think, was probably influenced by the Pancharatra doctrines.

While surveying the historical development of the padāvali-kīrtana of Bengal, we find that during the time of Rājā Lakṣ-maṇasena (1178-1179 or 1184-1185 A.D.), the classical prabandha type of music was profusely cultured, as evidenced from Thākur Jayadeva's Gītagovinda, and other types of padagītī. From the history of Bengal we know that classical dance and music were cultured by the Gupta Rulers (third-sixth century A.D.). In the coin, we find a figure of Samudragupta, depicted as a veeṇā-player. When the Pāla Rulers were in power (seventh-eighth century A.D.), many of the rural ballads and folk songs were composed, and sung with classical tunes (rāgas). During the reign of Gopīchandra and the queen Maināvatī (or Madanāvatī), sāstric dances and music were cultured in

different temples and places of Bengal. Many musical remains discovered from the Lāmāi Hill, testify the fact.

The nucleus of Vaisnava padas or padāvalīs is found in Hāla Satavāhana's gāhā-sattaśai (i.e. gāthā-saptaśatī), in the first-fifth century A.D. Hala described some of the padas, composed of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa vrajalīlā. Bhatta-nārāyaṇa composed some nāndī-ślokas of the drama, Veņīsamhāra (seventh-eighth century A.D.), describing Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa's rāsa-function on the bank of Jamuna, and they have been acknowledged by Anandavardhana in his Dhvanyāloka, in the ninth century A.D. Ānandavardhana also quotes a beautiful pada or padagiti of an unknown author, who composed it with the theme of Rādhā-Kr sna-līlā. Dr. Sasībhūṣan Dāsgupta said that this particular pada has been quoted by Kuntaka in his Vakroktījīvita, in the tenth-eleventh century A.D. Trivikrama-Bhatta also composed some Rādhā-Krṣṇa-padas in his Nalachampu in 915 A.D Some of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-padas, describing vrajalīlā, are found in the Kavindra-samucchaya, in the tenth century A.D., and one of the padas have been quoted by Bhojarāja in his Sarasvatīkanlhābharana, in the eleventh century A.D., and Hemachandra in his Kāvyānuśaraņa, in the twelfth century A.D. Śrīdharadas has also mentioned that particular padagīti in his Soduktikarņāmīta. Besides, Bhojjala-kavi, Sāradātanaya, Kavi Karņapūra, Sāgaranandī, Ramaśarmā, and others have also composed padagītis, describing the divine episodes of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa's divine vrajalīlā.

Then we come across with Thākur Jayadeva's Gitagovinda, Līlā-śuka Thākur Vilvamangala's Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta, and Śrīdhara-dāsa's Saduktikarṇāmṛta, in the twelfth-thirteenth century A.D. dāsa's Saduktikarṇāmṛta, in the twelfth-thirteenth century A.D. When Jayadeva composed Gītagovinda, vrajabuli was not introduced as the language of the padagītis. Some say that it was first written in prākṛt and was afterwards Sanskritised. Some first written in prākṛt and was afterwards Sanskritised. Some are of the opinion that the Gītagovinda was known as nātagīti,

^{1.} Some are of the opinion that Bhojjala-kavi and Abhinavagupta are one and the same man.

written in avahatta language. The language avahatta was an admixture of Sanskrit, Prākṛt and Bengali. Some other scholars hold the view that the Gitagovinda was practised as group-music or pālāgāna. But that is not wholly correct, as it was composed of mātrāvṛtta metre (chanda), mixed with tripadī. Some are again inclined to call the Gītagovinda as aṣtapadī, and the name is very common in South India. But, truly speaking, the name aṣtapadī is not befitting the Gītagovinda, as it is not composed of only eight verses or padas, rather it consists of different groups of verses. As for example, the first chapter (sarga) consists of 49 verses, the second one of 21 verses, the third one of 16 stanzas, and the fourth one of 23 verses, etc.

Jayadeva was the court-poet of Rājā Laksmaņa-sen, the worthy son of Rājā Vallālasen. The renowned poets like Govardhana, Dhoyi, Sarana, and others were contemporary to Jayadeva. In the padagītis of Gītagovinda, we find the beautiful description of the divine sportive plays (līlā) of Vṛndāvana, but it seems that they were merely the reproductions of those of Mathurā, Dvārakā and other adjacent places, as described in the Śrīmadbhāgavata. Śrī Rādhā or Rādhikā has been described by Jayadeva as one of the eight chief Gopis of Śri Kṛṣṇa, and this idea was probably incorporated by him from the Bhāgavata and the Purāṇas. Dr. S. B. Dāsgupta said in this connection that 'Jayadeva's exact source is not known. There are parallelism between the extremely sensuous treatment of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend and that of the Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa, but there is no conclusive proof that Jayadeva's inspiration was the Kṛṣṇa-Gopī legend of the Śrimadbhāgavata, which avoids all direct mention of Rādhā (who is also not mentioned by Līlāsuka), and describes the autumnal, not vernal, rāsalīlā'. It is true that the word 'Rādhā' does not occur in the Bhāgavata, in the sense of divine consort of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, but there occurs only the word 'ārādhita' i.e. 'worshipped'. The Bhāgavata states in the 10th chapter Anayārādhito nūnam bhagavān hari-rīśvaraḥ /

Yanno vihāya Govindaḥ prīto yāmanayadrahaḥ //²
That is, 'Hari has certainly been worshipped by this woman, because Govinda has been pleased to bring her in the lonely place, leaving us all behind'. Sanātana Gosvāmī, Viśvanāth Chakravurty, and other Vaiṣṇava savants interpreted the word 'ārādhitaḥ' as 'most beloved and venerable Rādhā'. Sanātana Gosvāmī commented on the śloka as 'anayaiva ārādhitaḥ ārādhya vaśīkṛtaḥ na asmābhiḥ. Rādhayati ārādhayatīti rādheti nāmakāraṇañcha darśitam', Viśvanāth Chakravurty said: 'nūnaṃ harirayaṃ rādhitaḥ. rādhāṃ itaḥ prāptaḥ. Kavirāja Kṛṣṇadās Gosvāmī also accepted the view of Sanātana Gosvāmī in his Chaitanyacharitāmṛta thus:

Kṛṣṇa-vāñchāpūrtirūpa kare ārādhane / Ataeva rādhikā nāma purāņe vākhāne //5

In the mythico-historical epics like Padma, Skandha, etc., the word 'Rādhā' has been mentioned with Lalitā, Viśākhā, Chandrāvālī, and other female attendants (sakhīs). Dr. S. K. De was of the opinion that although Rādhā is not mentioned in the Rāsapaāchādhyāya of the Śrīmadbhāgavata, yet the Gopīs figure prominently in the romantic legend, and their dalliance with Kṛṣṇa is described in highly emotional and sensuous poetry. Some say that Jayadeva was influenced by the religious doctrine of Nimvārka, and so he gave Rādhā a high place in his padagītis. But this view is untenable, as we find that Jayadeva was mostly influenced by the doctrines of earlier literature

- अनयाराधितो नूनं भगवान हरिरीश्वरः।
 यत्रो विहाय गोविन्दः प्रीतो यामनयदृहः।।
- अनयैव आराधितः आराध्य बशीकृतः न अस्माभिः ।
 राधयति आराधयतीति राधेति नामकारणञ्ज दर्शितम् ।
 —वैणवतीषणी-टीका ।
- 4. नूनं इश्स्यं राधितः। राधां इतः प्राप्तः * * ।
- कृष्णवाञ्छाप्तिरूप करे आराधने । अतएव राधिका नाम पराणे वास्वाने ।

-चैतन्यचरितामृत (आदिलीला, ४र्थ परिच्छेद)

like Pañcharātra, different Purāṇas, and the Śrīmadbhāgavata. It is also true that the fundamental doctrine and philosophical ideas of the Gītagovinda are greatly based on the religious thoughts of the earlier Pañcharātra-saṃhitā. The Śrīmadbhāgavata also follows most of the ideas and ideals of the Mahābhārata, Khila-Harivaṃśa, and Purāṇas like Brahmavaivarta, Viṇu, Padma, Skandha, etc. There is a great controversy, regarding the date of the Bhāgavata, the authentic religious literature of the Vaiṣṇavas. Some are of the opinion that as the Bhāgavata adopts the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu, depicted in the earlier Pañcharātra literature like Sātvata, Ahirvyadhna, Parameśvara, Jaya, Iśvara, Parama, Padma, etc., in the beginning of the Christian era, it might have been compiled not earlier than the eighthninth century A.D.

But it should be investigated as to how and when the popular cult of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa or Bhāgavatism exactly evolved in the Indian society. We gather from the Chhāndogya-Upanişad that Devaki-putra Kṛṣṇa was the disciple of Ghora Angirasa, a priest of the Sun, and the worshipper of the Fire-god (Agni), who taught Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa was a Kṣatriya scholar and seer, who flourished, according to Jain tradition, about 1000 B.C. 'Vāsudeva', said Dr. Rādhākamal Mukherjee, 'seems to have been an accepted form of the Vedic god, Visnu, at the close of the Vedic period. According to the Taittiriya-Āranyaka, Nārāyana, Vāsudeva and Visnu are three aspects of the same god. In the Mahābhārata, we find the story that Paundraka pretended to be Purusottama or Vișnu and was known under the name of Vāsudeva.* * It was the Sātvatas, an important branch of the Yadava race, who first recognised Kṛṣṇa not merely as their tribal hero and leader (Sātvatam-varaḥ), but as the Supreme God, or the Sun whom he taught them to meditate upon. Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa's identification with the Sun is clearly indicated in the Mahābhārata (XII. 341.41).6 Thus Kṛṣṇa

^{6.} Vide also Bhāgavad-Gitā, XIII. 18.

came to be known as Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, and his worshippers were called Pañcharātras or Bhāgavatas'.

We find again that the Satvatas were at first the worshippers of the Sun (sūryopāsaka), and when the Sun was deified as Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, 'radiant Lord of the Sky', they began to worship Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva as the representation of the radiant Sun. Pāṇini (500 B.C.) described Vāsudeva as the son of Vāsudeva of the race of the Vṛṣṇis. The Bhāgavad Gītā also stated: 'Of the Vṛṣṇis, I am Vāsudeva'. Patañjali (150 B.C.) mentioned Vāsudeva as Bhāgavat or 'the Adorable'. Dr. R. K. Mukherjee was of the opinion that the Mahābhārata repeatedly refers with respect to the Pancharatra or bhakti literature which deals with the worship of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu as Nārāyaṇa and Puruṣa. The worship of the personal deity Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu-Puruṣa derived invaluable support from the early Vedic conception of the deity, Vișnu or Purușa. 'The later Upanișads from about 250 B.C. onwards preached the doctrine of Isvara or Lord and of revelation vouchsafed to whomsoever the Lord chooses. The new theistic doctrine was preached by the Bhagavatas or Vāsudevakas, named after Vāsudeva, who is Kṛṣṇa himself, and is later identified in an Aranyaka with Vișnu and Nārāyaņa, and in the famous Besnagar inscription of the convert Heliodorous (the Greek envoy of King Antialkidas of Taxila) with the Supreme God, Devadeva Vișnu. This was in the 2nd century B.C., when the cult of Vāsudeva and Sankarşana (later considered as Kṛṣṇa's brother) was mentioned as prevalent, especially in Central India and the Deccan'.

Further Dr. Mukherjee observed that the *Bhāgavata-dharma* and Vāsudeva cult spread from the Yamunā valley to Central India, Rājputānā and Mahārāṣtra, and by the 2nd century B.C. it was a popular cult throughout India, attracting foreigners also. 'In Vidiśā, the worship of Saṅkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva and Pradyumna, associated with the *Paūcharātra* doctrine, is indicated by the inscriptions of the 2nd-1st century B.C. The celebrated inscription of Vidiśā, about 180 B.C. of the Greek convert Heliodorous mentioned Vāsudeva as the God of Gods

(devadeva), in whose honour the foreigner erected a flag staff with the image of Gadura on the top. The Nanaghat Cave Inscription of the first century B.C. invokes both Sankarşana and Vāsudeva among other deities; while the Ghosundi and Hathibada Inscriptions mention Pārāsarīputra Sarvatāta as having constructed a stone enclosure for the place of worship called Nārāyaṇa vāta for Bhāgavat Sankarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva. The Tusam Inscription of the 4th or 5th century A.D. mentioned Yasastrāta as a devotee of Bhāgavat belonging to the Brāhman Gotamagotra who inherited the Yoga practice of the Ārya Sātvatas through many generations. * * According to a Syrian legend, the cult was prevalent in Syria as early as the second century B.C. reaching there by the familiar land-route of trade. The bid of Kṛṣṇa-Bhāgavatism to become an orthodox Indian religion is clearly indicated in the second century B.C. by the assimilation of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa into the earlier Vedic gods, Vișnu and Nārāyana'. Again the Kṛṣṇa-Bhāgavatism 'was the most popular religion in the Gupta and post-Gupta epoch, and obtained converts from foreigners as well as from the Sudras and women'. Kālidāsa gave a superb expression to the swelling tide of bhakti in Kṛṣṇa-Bhāgavatism of this age.7

Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar said that the name of Vāsudeva mostly occurs in the Bhagavad Gītā, Bhāgavatam and in different Purāṇas. Baladeva was associated with Vāsudeva and not with Vasudeva. Kṛṣṇa, Janārdana, and Keśava do not appear to be Vṛṣṇi names and were given to Vāsudeva in subsequent times when his worship had widely spread.

The word Nārāyaṇa is similar to Nāḍāyana, which means the Gotra Nāḍāyana. In the Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka (X. 11), Nārāyaṇa is described with all its attributes of the Supreme Soul, which are usually found mentioned in the Upaniṣads.

^{7. (}a) Vide Dr. R. K. Mukherjee: A History of Indian Civilization (second edition, 1958), pp. 152-53, 239, 242.

⁽b) 'In the Kāvyas of Kālidāsa we find not only Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa identified with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa, but Kṛṣṇa is also called Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa'.—Ibid., p. 242.

In the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, he figures as the supreme god. We further find that Vāsudeva is identified with Nārā-yaṇa, and Vāsudeva is again identified with Viṣṇu (vyāpakatvāt viṣṇu i.e. he who is all pervading, is known as Viṣṇu). Viṣṇu is a Vedic deity. There are but few hymns addressed to him in RV. Viṣṇu is also known as the highest region or soul—parama-padam. In epic times, Viṣṇu grew to be in every respect the Supreme Spirit, and Vāsudeva is identified with Viṣṇu. In the Bhagavad Gītā and Aṇugītā, we find the identity of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu. Again in the Harivaṃŝa (vv. 5876-5878), Vāyu-purāṇa (chap. 98, vv. 100-102), and the Bhāgavata-purāṇa (II. 7), Kṛṣṇa has been described as Avatāra (Incarnation) and there we find identification of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa (cowherd-God).

The name Govinda does also occur in the Bhagavad Gītā and other parts of the Mahābhārata. It seems that the name Govinda is a latter form of Govid, which in the Rgveda, is used as an epithet of Indra in the sense of 'the finder of the cows'. The cowherds lived in a Ghoşa or temporary encampment. Ghoşa is further defined as Abhirapalli, which is generally understood as the enclosure of cowherds. Sir Bhandarkar said that it is possible that the Abhiras brought with them the name of Christ also, and this name probably led to the identification of the boy-god with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. "The Goanese and the Bengalis often pronounce the name Kṛṣṇa as Kuṣṭo or Kṛṣto, and so the Christ of the Ābhiras was recognised as the Sanskrit Kṛṣṇa. The dalliance of Kṛṣṇa with cowherdesses, which introduced an element inconsistent with the advance of morality into the Vasudeva religion......". In the Pancharatra or Bhagavata system, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa is also found. The Pañcharātra system must ever, there is a controversy among the scholars regarding the names of Nārāyaņa, Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva, Gopāla, etc.

Similarly there is a great controversy regarding the name as well as the first incorporation of the word 'Rādhā' in the

Vaiṣṇava literature. Most of the scholars are of the opinion that the word 'Rādhā' first occurred probably in Hāla Satavāhana's Gahasattaśai (Gāthā-saptaśati), written in the first or second-fifth century A.D. Vāṇabhatta mentioned about Hāla in his Harṣacharita, in the seventh century A.D. Hāla mentioned only once the word 'Rādhā' in his Sattasai or Saptaśati, in connection with Kṛṣṇa's vrajalīlā thus:

Muhamāru-eņa tam kahņa goraam rāhi-āen avaņento/
Etāņam valaveeņam annānam vi gora-am harasi //8
Here 'rāhi-āen' stands for 'Rādhā'. The meaning of the śloka is: 'O Kṛṣṇa, you have removed, the blow of your mouth, the dust from the mouth of Rādhā, and thus you have stolen the glory of these beloved ladies and other women'. Now, it is proved from the lines that there was one Gopī named Rādhā, who was very favourite to Kṛṣṇa. Dr. S. B. Dāśgupta said that the Divine couple (yugala-mūrti), inscribed in the temple-wall and discovered from Pāhāḍapur excavation, undoubtedly prove that the doctrine of Rādhā (Rādhāvāda) was prevalent even before the eighth century A.D. The mention of Rādhā Ānanda-vartha and Bhatta-nārāyaṇa's Veṇī-samhārā (drama) and

Ānanda-vardhana's Dvanyāloka, in the eighth-ninth century A.D. It is said that Śrī Chaitanya and Gaudīya Vaiṣṇava Gosvāmīs gave Rādhā the high and prominent place in the Vaiṣṇava literature in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D., and it is proved by a Sanskrit śloka, which explains as to how the ancient human love-lyrics were gradually transformed into divine sportive play or love-dalliance of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa (Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-līlā). The śloka runs thus:

Yaḥ kaumāraharaḥ sa eva hi varastāḥ eva chaitrakṣapāste conmīlita-mālatī-surabhayaḥ prauḍḥāḥ kadambānilāḥ / Sā chaivāsmi tathāpi tatra surata-vyāpāra-līlāvidhaurevārodhasi vetasī-tarutale chetaḥ samutkanṭḥate //9

 मुहमारुएण तं कह गोरअ' राहि आएँ अवणेन्तो । एताण वलवीणं अचाणं वि गोरअ' हर्सि ।।

^{9.} यः कौमारहरः स एव हि वरस्ताः एव चैत्रक्षपा-स्ते चोन्मोलितमालतीसुरभयः प्रीढ़ाः कदम्वानिलाः ।

That is, 'he is my husband, with whom I was intimate before my marriage. The same chaitra-samkrānti (i.e. the last day of the month of chaitra) has appeared again, and the same sweet fragrance of the full-blown mālatī flower, together with the breeze, are coming through the kadamba garden; I am also present in this place, and the sweet remembrance of that conjugal love before my marriage, under the shade of vetasa creeper, on the bank of the river Revā, makes me mad and impatient'. It is said that Śrī Chaitanya recited twice this śloka before he met Śrī Jagannāth at Purī. Kavirāja Kṛṣṇadās Gosvāmī explains the inner significance of the śloka, as recited by Śrī Chaitanya, in his Chaitanyacharitāmṛta thus:

ये काले करेन जगसाथ दरशन ।

मने भावे कुरुहों श्रे पार्ज छि मिलन ।।

* * *

कुरुण लवा मजे याइ—एभाव अन्तर ।।

एइभावे नृत्यमध्ये पड़े एक श्लोक ।

सेड श्लोकेर अर्थ केड नाडि सुभे लोक ।।

Rūpa Gosvāmi also commented on the above slokas: 'yaḥ kaumāra-haraḥ', etc., in his Padyāvalī, and said that they are the mystic talks of Rādhā with her beloved female companions (sakhī). He also composed a similar sloka: 'priyaṃ so'yaṃ', etc. in this connection.

From those ślokas it is understood that the conception of Śrī Kṛṣṇa as a divine child (vāla-gopāla-mūrti), connected with the sportive play or love-dalliance of Rādhā at Vṛndāvana, instead of Mathurā, Dvārakā, and other places, originated with

सा चैबास्मि तथावि तत्र सुरतव्यापारलोलाविधी-रेवारोथसि वेतसीतरुतले चेतः समुद्रकण्ठते ॥ Śrī Chaitanya and his followers. And this fact is also proved by half of the śloka, recited by Chaitanya, while he fell in trance (bhāva-samādhi) at the sight of the top of the temple of Jagannāth at Purī, and the śloka is:

Prāsādagre nivasati puraķ smera-vaktrāravindo, Māmālokya smita-suvadano vāla-gopāla mūrtiļ //10 It is very interesting to know as to how the simple rural loveepisodes of the Bengali Ābhīra boys and girls were transformed into the divine sportive play or līlā. The Ābhīra boys used to dress themselves as nāyaka Kṛṣṇa, and the girls as their lovemates or nāyikās, which are profusely found in the ballads in East Bengal (pūrva-vanga-gītikā). Some are of the opinion that there are two reasons behind it: (1) firstly, many ballads or love-songs were current among the Abhīra community, and they were composed within the atmosphere of the simple villages. Those ballads sprung all over the countries, in the form of chadā or lyrics. They were gradually incorporated in the mythico-historical Purānas, as they were very interesting themes for the composition of literature (kāvya), and (2) secondly Vaisnavism together with the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult began to spread under the influence of the Sena Kings, from eleventhtwelfth century A.D. The mystic poets composed songs or lyrics on the subject-matter, and they were much appreciated by the people of all communities. At last it so happened that no song or lyric was composed without the theme of Kṛṣṇa. Gradually religious and spiritual significances were attributed to those songs or lyrics, and Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult became the central theme of the later Vaisnava literature and spiritual sādhanā.

In the Vaisnava Sahajiyā school, we find also the ontological

10. प्रासादग्रे निवसति पुरः स्मेरवस्त्रारविन्दो मामालोक्य स्मितसुवदनो बालगोपालमूर्तिः ॥

Dr. Sukumār Sen is of the opinion that the vāla-gopāla-mūrti of Śrī Kṛṣṇa began to be worshipped by the Vaiṣṇava community after the twelfth century A.D. In the prākṛt gāthā, we also find the mention of 'अज्जिव वालो दामोदरों * *' etc.

principles of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā as the eternal enjoyer and enjoyed (bhoktā and bhogya). The Vaisnava Sahajiyā school maintains the view that all men and women are physical manifestations of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. 'When men and women can, therefore, realize themselves as the manifestations of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā through the process of attribution (āropa), the love of any human couple is transformed into divine love which is eternally flowing between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and when the union of a human couple thus becomes the union of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, the highest spiritual realization dawns on the state of union or yugala'. The esoteric Buddhist Sahajiyā school also follows the method of this sādhanā, the only difference lies in the adoptation of the principle of enjoyer and enjoyed, as the Sahajiyā Buddhism adopts prajītā and upāya, or śūnyatā and karuņā as the two primary attributes of the ultimate reality which is sahaja. That is, the Buddhist Sahajiyās conceived sahaja as mahāsukha, which is 'the unity of the duality, represented by man and woman as upaya of the game. This method for the realization of the state and $praj\bar{n}\bar{a}$. This method for the realization of the state of sahaja, said Dr. S. B. Dāśgupta, is essentially consisted of sexo-yogic practice. The Vaisnavas supplied the element of love to it. The sahaja was then conceived as the supreme love which can be realized by the union of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, who reside in the corporeal form of man and woman. This method of sādhanā seems to be the divinisation of the human love.

It has already been said that the Vaiṣṇava movement of Bengal, in the line of the Kṛṣṇa cult or Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, grew along the tradition of the Srīmadbhāgavata and the Purāṇas, 'and there was perhaps', said Dr. Śaśībhūṣan Dāśgupta, 'through the life of Chaitanya and some renowned Gosvāmīs, 'through the life of Chaitanya and some renowned Gosvāmīs, some influence also of the devotional movement of the South. The first literary record of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism is to be found in the famous lyrical poem the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva. After him Chaṇḍīdās and Vidyāpati (who, though a Maithili poet,

^{11.} It has been discussed before in connection with 'Philosophy of the Charyā'. Charyās are the mystic songs of the Vajrayāni Siddhā-chāryas.

was more popular in Bengal than in his native province) sang the immortal songs of the eternal love of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, and were precursors, as some scholars are disposed to think, of Śrī Chaitanya, * * Vaiṣṇavite apostle like Mādhavendra-puri, Advaitāchārya, Śrīvāsa and others of course flourished just before the advent of Chaitanya, but the advent of Chaitanya was some thing like a fruition of all their devotional penances, and it was an event which was really epoch-making in religion and literature of Bengal. Chaitanya, as he is interpreted by his followers, embodies in him the quintessence of both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is the realizer and the realized in the same personality'.

'Through his life and teachings Chaitanya preached a doctrine of divine love, which was philosophically systematised and theologically codified by the six Gosvāmīs of Vrndāvana, viz., Rūpa, Sanātana, Raghunāthdās, Raghunāth Bhatta, Gopāl Bhatta and Jiva Gosvāmī. The philosophical and theological system, known as Gaudīya Vaisņavism (i.e. the Vaisņavism of Bengal), is the contribution of those six Gosvāmīs, who were all religious apostles, inspired by the life and teachings of Chaitanya. Pre-Chaitanya Vaisnavism of Bengal generally flourished with the legends of Kṛṣṇa and his dalliances with the cowherd girls of Vindavana and particularly with Radha, but in post-Chaitanya Vaisnavism, the divinity of Chaitanya as the synthesis of the two aspects of the same reality as the lover and the beloved was recognized and emphasised, and as a result thereof post-Chaitanya Vaisnava literature laid the same stress, if not more, on the life and teachings of Chaitanya as on the legends of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.12

12. (a) Vide Obscure Religious Cults, pp. xlii—xliii.
(b) Some and Religious Cults, pp. xlii—xliii.

with the cult of the divine sportive play of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa evolved in the Gaudadeśa in the middle of the sixth century A.D.

But it is a fact that the ancient Bhāgavatatantra of Mathurā, founded by Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, and the Bhagavata-tantra, evolved in Magadha in the Gupta age, were different from the Vaiṣṇavism of the Gauda-Vanga. So

Before the advent of Śrī Chaitanya, padāvalīs were composed with the theme of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, but after Chaitanya's initiation into sannyāsa (renunciation) and his recognition as the incarnation of Śri-Rādhā, the trend of composition of the padāvalīs took a new course with a novel outlook. The sportive play of Kṛṣṇa as specially Rādhā's separation from Kṛṣṇa (Kṛṣṇa-viraha) began to be realized through those of Chaitanya. Then the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa doctrine was interpreted through the medium of the divine activities of Chaitanya, and that was the chief object of the Vaisnava composers (padakartās) during Chaitanya's time. The Chaitanya cult came into the foreground, instead of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult, just as the historical or metaphysical Buddha receded back into background, giving rise to his descending images of Maitreya and Amitābha. Gradually mahajāna-padāvalīs were composed, collected, and sung in the form of kirtana, and gaurachandrikā was introduced in praise of Śrī Chaitanya, for the fuller realization of the divine sportive play of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa (Rādhā-Kṛṣṇalīlā). In this way, the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇalīlā became gradually a secondary one, giving prominency to Chaitanyalīlā, and Śrī Chaitanya became familiar as Śrī Gaurānga (incarnation of Śrī Rādhā) among his devout followers.

We find some padagītis, current among the Ālvāras of the ancient Vaiṣṇava community of South India in the fifth-ninth century A.D. The padagītis were known as the divya-prabandha, and from the very name we know that they used to be sung with metres, melody (rāga), rhythm, and tempo. They were nearly four thousand in number. The Ālvāras used to conceive themselves as the devoted woman or nāyikās of Viṣṇu, and the Lord Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa as the only nāyaka.¹³ J. S. M. Hooper trans-

the Gaudīya-Vaiṣṇavism, it is said, evolved from the admixture of the doctrines of Viṣṇu-Nārāyana, as depicted in the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa of the Bhāgavata and the Pañcharātra, and Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa, as depicted in the Purāṇa, and Kālidāsa's kāvyas.

13. Perhaps the mediaeval Vaisnava sādhakas of Vrndāvana incorporated this idea from the Ālavāras, who maintained that Śrī Kṛṣṇa was the only puruṣa and all others were women, in Vṛndāvana.

lated many of the Tāmil hymns of the Ālvāras, and in them we find the mention of one Nāppinnāi, who was described as the beloved Gopī of Kṛṣṇa, the divine Incarnation of Viṣṇu. There is no mention of Rādhā in their hymns. It is said that Kṛṣṇa once danced the dance of kuravavai-kūttu, along with Balarāma and beloved Nāppinnāi. 14

After Jayadeva, many mystic poets like Vadu Chandidas of Nānnura, Līlā-śuka Vilvamangala Ţḥākur of Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta, Umāpatidhara, the court-poet of Rājā Laksmaņasena Umāpati Ojhā of Mithilā, Vidyāpati, the court-poet of Rājā Sivasingha, flourished from the twelfth to sixteenth century A.D. In the fifteenth-sixteenth century, there flourished Ray Rāmānanda, Yośorāja Khān, Murārīgupta, Naraharidās, Vāsudeva Ghose, Mādhava Ghose, Rāmānanda Basu, Raghunāthdās, Vṛdāvanadās, Balarāmadās, and other scholars and mystic poets in Bengal and Orissa, and they were all the followers of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult. Most of them were the personal attaches and followers of Śri Chaitanya. Some of the Vaisnava poets flourished at the same time in Assam, and they were Śankaradev, Mādhavadev, Pītāmbarakavi, Nārāyanadev, and others. They also composed padagitis, which were sung with great unity in the spheres of language, religion and culture of Bengal, Bihār, Orissā and Āssām. The avahatta language was gradually replaced by the vrajabuli, to some extent. Vaisnava poets of Āssām and Orissā were influenced by the vrajabuli, in the composition of the padas or gānas.

Now, what do we mean by the language, vrajabuli? Does it mean spoken language of the Vrajamandala, i.e. of Mathurā, Vṛndāvana and their adjacent places? No, it is quite different from the spoken language of the Vraja or Vrajamandala. Dr. Sukumār Sen is of the opinion that the ancient composers of the padas or padagītis selected it as the language of the Vaiṣṇava

^{14.} Vide S. K. Aiyanger: Early History of Vaisuavism in South India, and Dr. S. B. Dāśgupta: Śrī Rā lhār Kramavikāśa (latest ed.).

padāvalī-kīrtana. They called it vrjāvāli, and not vraja or vrjabuli, and for this reason many people mistook it as an original language of the Vrajamaņdala. They took it also as the divine language of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Besides, they erroneously found a similarity between the spoken language of Vrajamaṇdala and that of the padāvalī-kīrtana, and specially between their intonation and grammar. But, it has been said that vrja or vrajabuli is absolutely different from the spoken language of Vṛndāvana and its adjacent places. Vrajabuli may be considered as the miśra-maithila language, evolved in the end of 15th century A.D. in Bengal, Orissā and Āssām.

The Language, Vrajabuli

The vrājabuli or vrajabhāṣā was considered to be the language of the padāvali-kirtana at the end of the sixteenth century A.D. Dr. Sukumār Sen is of the opinion that vrajabuli as the language, evolved from the language of avahatta, being much influenced by the languages, Maithili, Hindi, Rājasthānī, Bengalī, Prākīt, Odissi, etc. in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. Vidyāpati wrote the book, Kirtilatā in prose and poetry in the old language of avahatta. It is said that vrajabuli evolved and were developed in the Court of Tirhut-Moranga, in Nepal. For the Turkish invasion in South-Behār and Bengal, many poets and Paṇḍits took shelter in the Court of Tirhut-Moranga (in Nepal), and that was the cause for the

15. Dr. Sunîti Kumār Chatterji wrote: 'Vidyāpati Thākur' (end of 14th—beginning of 15th century) is the greatest writer of Maithili. Vidyāpati's songs on the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇaare among the fairest flowers in Indian lyric of Bengal. These exerted a tremendous influence on the Vaiṣṇava lyric of Bengal. They spread into Bengal, and were admired and imitated by Bengali poets of Bengal This mixed dialect came to be called Brajabuli or Speech of Vraja, from the fact that the poems composed in it described Kṛṣṇa's early life....... which had for its scene the Vraja district, round about Brindāvan, near Mathurā. Vide ODBL (2nd edition, London, 1970), p. 103.

development of a new literature and language like Krsnalila, and vrajabuli. Vrajabuli was first introduced in Mithila, and then was used by Umapati Ojha in the 14th century A.D., and by Vidyapati in 15th century A.D. In the Chaitanyacharitāmrta, we find a vrajabuli-pada of Rāy Rāmānanda, quoted from his Jagannāthbattabh-Nātaka. As for example:

Pahilahi rāga nayana-bhaṅga bhela / Anudina vadhala avadhinā gela //

Husen Sāhā and his son Nasarat Sāhā also composed some padas (padagānas) in the name of Kavišekhara and Vidyāpati. Husen Sāhā was sometimes the court-poet of Gauda-Rāj. In the 16th-17th century A.D., Kavi Govindadās Kavirāj infused new life in the vrajabuli or vaisnava-padāvalī. Sankaradev and his disciple, Mādhavadās, introduced vrajabuli in Kāmatā-Kāmarūpa in Āssām.

In the 18th-19th century A.D. vrajabuli was also in use in the pada-sāhitya. Dr. S. K. Sen beautifully discussed the method of construction of vrajabuli, its grammar, and dhvanivyanjanā, etc. in the books, Vaisnaviya-Nibandha, 16 and History of Vrajabuli.17

After the Sen Kings, and especially after Rājā Laksmanasen, the Vaisnava lyrics were greatly appreciated in Nepāl and other Himālayān regions. Śrīnivāsa-Malla, the then King of Nepāl, composed many padagitis, which were not inferior to those, composed in Mithila, Bengal, and Orissa in the fourteenthnineteenth century A.D. The themes of those padagitis were in praise of the divine couple, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Before the advent of Sri Chaitanya (fifteenth century A.D.), the themes of the Vaisnava-padāvalīs, nāmagāna or nāma-gostha were the legends of the sportive plays or love dalliance of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa, and their female companions or Gopis, that happened

^{16.} Vide pp. 24-48 (published by Rūpā, Calcutta, 1970).

^{17.} Published by the Calcutta University.

at Dvārkā, Mathurā, and other adjacent places, depicted in the Bhagavata and other epic literature. Again it seems that almost all the songs, including the enigmatic songs, ascribed to Chandidas, known as ragatmikā-padas and the texts were composed by the exponants of the Sahajiyā cult in the post-Chaitanya period, and mostly in or after the seventeenth century A.D. Now regarding the types of song, it has already been said that before the advent of Srī Chaitanya, different types of gītis like nātagīti, sivāyana, charyā, and vajra gītis, mangala-gāna, jhumura, pānchālī, rāmāyaņa-gāna, bāula, etc. were current in Bengal. Different group-songs or pālāgānas were practised in Burdwan, Veerabhuma, and different corners of Rādhadeśa, in West Bengal. Those group-songs were composed with the musical sketches or plots like gosthalila, mathuralīlā, mānabhanjana, rāsa, nandotsava, etc. They were similar to ancient type of kirtana or nāmagāna. They are still surviving in West Bengal under the name of vādāi, and they are exclusively sung by groups of singers on the occasions of janmāṣtamī and nandotsava celebrations of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. All these gītis were possessed of classical rāgas and tālas.

The padāvalī-kīrtana of Bengal evolved out of the materials of variant types of gītis like bāul, mangala, pānchālī, etc., which were current before the advent of Śrī Chaitanya. It also drew its inspiration from the Tāntric Buddhist dohās, charyā and vajra, and the mystic prabandha-gītis of the Gītagovinda. Some are of the opinion that the themes of the padāvalī-kīrtana were nourished by the simple ballads, composed of thousands of rural love-episodes of the heroes and heroines of East Bengal.

From Śāraṅgadeva (early thirteenth century) we come to know that the maṅgala, charyā, pāūchālī, jhumura, charcharī, paddhaḍī, rāhaḍī, and kīrtana types of songs were possessed of classical forms or patterns. Śāraṅgadeva said in his Saṅgīta-Ratnākara that the prabandha type of songs was mainly of two kinds, niryukta and aniryukta. The niryukta type of song was possessed of metre (chanda), rhythm (tāla), tempo (laya), and melody rāga), whereas the aniryukta one, being free from metre, rhythm

and tempo, was possessed of only melody or raga. This has also been described by Bharata (second century A.D.) in his Nātyaśāstra. The charcharī or chānchara, charyā and mangala types of songs were of the niryukta type of the prabandha gitis.

Besides niryukta and aniryukta types, the prabandhas were again divided in three classes, sūda, ālī or ālī-samśroya, and viprakīrņa. The sūda class of songs were further divided into eight classes, and they were : elā, karaņa, dhenki, vartani, rāsa, ekatālī, etc. The āli-samśraya type of songs were twenty-four and viprakīrņa-prabandhas were thirty-six in number. charcharī, charyā, paddhadī, veeraśrī, mangalāchāra, dhavala, mangala, and others were included in the viprakīrņa group.

The classical karana-prabandha was further classified into eight types, and they were: svara, pāta, bandha, pada, tena, viruda chitra and miśra. These eight karanas have been described by Śārangadeva and his commentators, Simhabhupāla18 and Kallinath. Each karana type of song was possessed of some special feature. They were sometimes sung in unision, and some of the parts of the songs were sometimes repeated. The drums and dances with raised hands accompanied the songs, and they remind us the scenes of the mystic Bauls of Bengal and Sufi Darvises of Arabia (vide Brown: Darbishes, Oxford). This type of dance is prevalent in kīrtana, even in

The eight karana types of songs were further divided into three classes, and they were; mangalārambha, ānandavardhana, and kīrtilaharī or kīrtipūrvikā-laharī. 19 The kīrtilaharī was a

Simhabhupāla said:

18. अष्टधा करणं तम्र स्वराद्यं पाटपर्वकम् ॥ वन्धादिमं पदाद्यं च तेनाद्यः विरुदादिमम्। चित्राद्यं मिश्रकरणमित्येषां * * ॥

—सङ्वीत-रत्नाकर ४।१३३-१३४

19. मङ्गलारम्भ-आनन्दवर्धनं कीर्तिपूर्विका। लहरीति त्रिधा तानि पत्ये कं गानभेदतः ॥

-सङ्घीत-रत्नाकर ४।१४२

special type of song, that used to be sung in praise of gods, heroes, or supermen as in the kirtana of Bengal and all other countries of India. Sārangadeva said about the special feature of the prabandha, kirtanalaharī thus:

Udgrāhasya dvitīyārdham dhruvārdha-sthānagam yadi / Itarat-pūrvavat-kīrtilaharī kīrtitā tadā //20

During the presentation of the prabandha-gīti, kīrtanalaharī, half of the music-part (dhātu) was sung, and in place of the other half, the second part of the music-part, udgrāha was presented with tune, and the rest was similar to the prabandhagīti, ānandavardhana. Some of the parts were repeated again and again. Sometimes the prabandha-gītis were accompanied by the clapping of hands and beating of drums.

Like kīrtilahari, charyā was a prabandha type of song. It was absolutely spiritual. It was divided into two classes, pūrņa (complete) and apūrņa (incomplete). They were again classified into two, sama-dhruvā and viṣama-dhruvā. One or two stanzas were repeated in the samadhruvā type of songs, and only the music-part, dhruva was repeated in the viṣamadhruvā type. The charyā contained generally three music-parts, type. The charyā and ābhoga, and melāpaka was dropped.

Like charyā, mangala was also a prabandha type of song. It was sung with the stanzas, named mangala with slow tempo (vilamvita laya) mangala metre²¹, and kaisiki or botta-rāga. (vilamvita laya) mangala metre²¹, and kaisiki or botta-rāga. The mangala type of song was an auspicious one, and Sarangadeva said: 'kaisiki-rāge botta-rāge vā kalyāṇa-vāchikaiḥ Sarangadeva said: 'kaisiki-rāge botta-rāge vā kalyāṇa-vāchikaiḥ padair-vilamvita-layena mangalo geyaḥ. Athavā mangala-nāmnā padair-vilamvita-layena mangalo geyaḥ. Athavā mangala-nāmnā chandasā.'²² The kaisiki or kaisika was a grāmarāga, and it used to be sung in the dramatic song (nālya-gīti) at the end of the

- 20. उदमाहस्य दितीबार्धः भ्रुवार्धस्थानगं यदि । इतरत्पूर्ववत्कीर्तिसहरी कीर्तिवा तदा ॥
- 21. There is no Vedic metre called mangala, and it seems it was adopted sometime before or during Śārangadeva.
 - 22. केशिकीरागे बोट्टरागे वा कल्याणवाचिकैः पहेर्विलम्बित्तस्येन मञ्जलो गेयः। अथवा मञ्जलनाम्ना छन्दसा। —सङ्गीत-स्त्नाकर।

play: 'samhāre kaisikah proktah * * brahmanā samudāhrtam.'23 That is, Brahmā-bharata of the pre-Christian era said that the grāmārāga should be applied at the end of a drama. It evolved out of the jātirāga, karmāravi. Śārangadeva called it the śuddha-kaiśika, which was different from the bhinna-kaiśika, takka-kaisika, kaisika-madhyama, and bhinna-kaisika-madhyama,

The botta or bhota i.e. bhotta-rāga was a formalised regional tune of the Himālayān Bhotadeśa (Bhūtān, Tibet, etc.). There was (and still there is) a cultural link between Tibet and India, and the Indian musicologists adopted this tune from the Bhotadeśa, as śaka, turuska-todi, etc. were adopted. The botta or bhotta rāga has been mentioned by Matanga in the Brhaddeśi, so it is probable that it was adopted in the Indian stock before the fifth-seventh century A.D. It evolved out of the jātirāga, sadja-madhyama. Sārangadeva said that this grāmarāga or rāga was very favourite to Siva, the divine husband of Bhavānī or Devi Durgā: 'utsave viniyoktavyo bhavānīpati-vallabhah'.24

Kīrtana is a nibaddha type of prabandha gīti, and is possessed of metre, melody, rhythm, and tempo. Like kirtilahari or kirtipūrvikā-lahari, it is a special type of song that is sung in praise of God, hero or superman. The word 'kirti' signifies reputation, praise, or greatness. Pandit Vāchaspati clarified it in his dictionary, Vāchaspatyābhidhāna: kīrti-kīrta+ ktin'. Khyālibhede amaraḥ. Khyātibhedascha dhārmikatyādi praśasta-dharmavattvena nānā-deśiya kathana jñāna-viṣayatā, Kirtischajivato-mrtasya velyatra višeso nāsti. * * tatra dānādi-prabhāvā khyātih kīrtih sauryādi-prabhavā khyātiryaśa iti kochid yaśa-kīrtyaurbhedamāhuḥ * * .25 Manu also explained the word 'kīrti' as

- 23. संहारे केशिकः घोकः * * ब्रह्मणा समुदाहृतम्। 24. उत्सव विनियोक्तव्यो भवानौपतिवल्लभः।
- 25. कीर्ति कोर्ते + क्तिन्। स्वातिभेदे अमरः। स्वातिभेदश्च धार्मिकत्यादि प्रशस्त-धर्मवत्त्वे न नानादेशीय कथन ज्ञानिवषयता । कीर्तिश्च जीवतोमृतस्य वेत्यत्र विदेशो नास्ति । * * तत्र दानादिष्रभावा रुपातिः कीर्तिः शोर्यादि-प्रभवा रुपातिर्यश इति कोचिद यशकीत्यौभेंदमाहुः * *।

as 'prajñām yasascha kīrtischa brahmavarchasāmeva cha'. 26 Therefore kīrtana does not mean only the Vaişnava-padāvalī-gīti in praise of Lord Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva, or Bāla-gopāla-mūrti, but signifies also all kinds of music that are sung in praise of them, who are superior in quality, power, learning, etc. In the Paūcharātra literature and Bhāgavata, the word 'kīrtana' has been used as a special type of song in praise of the glory, greatness and divine sportive plays (līlā) of Lord Kṛṣṇa. In Śrīmadbhāgavata, we find the mention of:

- (a) Randhrān veņo-radhara-sudhāyā punayan gopa-vīndairvīndāraņyam svapada-ramaņam pravišad gīta-kīrtih.²⁷
 - (b) * * sravaṇāddarsanadhyānānmayi bhāvo'nu-kīrtanām.28
- (c) Gāyantya ucchairamumeva samhatā.²⁹
 The word 'gīta-kīrtiḥ' signifies 'gīta-kīrtiḥ gītā-kīrtiḥ yašaḥ yasya sa kṛṣṇaḥ', etc.³⁰ Therefore, kīrtana is synonymous with gīta-kīrti. In the latter Vaiṣṇava literature, kīrtana has been defined as music, sung in raised voice, in praise of the Lord Kṛṣṇa. Gopāla-bhatta was contemporary to Śrī Chaitanya. He wrote an authoritative book on the Smṛti: Haribhaktivilāsa, where it is mentioned: 'kalau samkīrtya kešavam'³¹ or 'kalau taddhari-kīrtanāt'.³² While commenting on it, Sanātana Gosvāmī, said: 'samkīrtya samyak ucchāirucchāryyeti sadyaḥ svarupānanda-višeṣārthamuktam'.³³ Besides, he said that the word samkīrtana signifies the singing of the holy name, in praise of God or any
 - 26. प्रज्ञां यशश्च की तिश्च ब्रह्मवर्चेशामेव च।
 - 27. बन्ध्रान बेणोरधरसुधाया पुनयन गोपवृन्दै-

वृ न्दारण्यं स्वपद्रमणं प्राविशद् गीतकोतिः ।।

- 28. * * श्रवणाद्दर्शनध्यानान्मिय भावोऽनुकीर्तनाम् (भागवत १०।२३,२६)।
- 29. गायन्त्ये उच्चेरमुमेव संहता (भागवत १०११३१४)।
- 30. गीतकीर्तिः गीताकीर्तिः यशः यस्य स कृष्णः ।
- 31. कलौ संकीर्द्य केशवम्।
- 32. कली तद्धरिकोर्तनात्।
- 33. सङ्कीर्थ सम्यक उच्चैश्च्चार्थेति सद्यः स्वरूपानन्द्विशेषार्थमुक्तम् ।

other deity: 'samkīrtanam nāmocchāranam gijam stutischa nāmamayi'.34 Gopāla-bhatta prescribed kīrtana as a means to spiritual sādhanā for the Vaisnavas.

In the Harivamsa (200 B.C.), we find that the songs, in praise of both Visnu and Siva, were accompanied with dances. As the sāmaga Brāhmiņs used to sing in praise of Hari, Viṣṇu-Nārāyaņa or Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, so the dancing girls like Devadāsīs, Vidyādharīs and Apsarās sang the stutigānas of Siva with dances, hand poses, and musical instruments. As for example, we find :

- (a) Udgīyamānam vipraischa sāmabhiḥ sāmagair-harim.35
- (b) Nṛtyanti nṛtya-kuśalā gāyanti sma cha kanyakāḥ / Vidyādharasthānyatra stuvantaḥ śamkaram

śivam //36

Now, what do we mean by stuti or stutigana? Sayana (14th-15th century A.D.) said in his commentary on the Sāmaveda : 'गुणसंकीत नपरः पदसमूहः स्तुतिः।' He also divided the stuti type of songs into two, śastra and stotra, and he said : 'अप्रगीत-मन्त्रसाध्या स्तुतिः शस्त्र ; प्रगीत-मन्त्रसाध्या स्तुतिः स्तोत्रम्'।' Further he stated : 'स्तोतन्यायाः देवतायाः स्तावकैर्गुणै: संवन्ध-कीर्तनं स्तौति-शंसितधात्वीविन्योऽर्थः।' In fact, stuti is a kind of mantra-vākya, in praise of the deities: 'यदा तु गुण-द्वारेणानुस्मरणीय-देवता-स्वरूप - प्रकाशण-पराणि मन्त्रवाक्यानि स्युः।' The Vedic dhūrgānam (धूर्णानं) was a type of stuti-gāna, in which the samans were often repeated with three stanzas or res. During Sarangadeva's time (early thirteenth century A.D.), we find the practice of the brahmagītis like kapāla and

- 34, सङ्कीर्तनं नामोच्चरणं गीतं स्तुतिश्च नाममयो। These have been mentioned in the previous chapter also.
- 35. उदगीयमानं विष्ठेश सामभिः सामगैई रिम्।

<u>−हरिवंश, भविष्यपर्व ११४।४</u>

36. नृत्यन्ति नृत्यकुशला गायन्ति स्म च कन्यकाः। विद्याधरस्तथान्यत्र स्तुबन्तः शंकरं शिवम् ॥

—हरिवंश, भविष्यपर्व CE1१४

kambala. Kallināth said: 'prākpūrvam samkara-stutau samkarastutim vişayī-krtya brahma-prokta-padaih', etc.37 Simhabhupāla said: 'iti brahma-proktairjātiprastāre kathitai padairuktaih kapālāni gāyan kalyāņam bhajate'.38 The author of the Harivamsa said: 'pūjārtham deva-devasya gāndharvam nrtyameva cha'.39 These stutiganas or kīrtanas accompanied the hallīsaka dance, and the chālikya type of songs. Ugrasena and Yādavas presented a dramatic play with the theme of the Rāmāyana, assisted by Bhadranata. The hallīsaka dance, chālikya songs, and other dramatic songs are mentioned in the Śrīmadbhāgavata, Nirukta, Garga-samhitā, Pāṇinisūtra, Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, and in different classical Sanskrit literature, Purāņas, Pañchatantras, Kautilya's Arthasāstra, etc. The ancient hallīsaka dance and the chālikya type of songs were connected with the rāsalīlā of Regarding hallisaka dance, Dhāreśvara Śrī Bhojadeva said Kṛṣṇa and Gopis.

in the Sarasvati-kanthabharana,

मण्डलेन तु यत् स्त्रीणां नृत्यं हल्लोसकं तु तत । तत्र नेता भवेदेकी गीपस्त्रीणां हरिर्यथा।।

Further he said that hallisaka is a kind of rāsa (dance), accompanied by rhythm and time-units : 'तदिरं हल्लीसकमेव तालबन्धविशेषयुक्त' Regarding rāsalīlā, we find in the Garga-samhitā, रास एवेत्युच्यते'।

श्रीरागं चापि हिन्दोलं रागमेवं पृथक पृथक। अष्टतालस्त्रिभिग्रमिः खरैः सप्तभिरग्रतः॥ नृत्यैनानाविधेरमेहांवभावसमन्वितैः। तोषयन्त्वो हरि राधां कटाक्ष्येव जगोपिकाः ॥

We find also in the Srīmadbhāgavata:

रामकृष्णदायोः गोपा ननृतुर्यु युधुर्जगुः। कृष्णास्य नृत्यतः केचिज्जगुः केचिदवादयन ॥ बेणु-पाणितलेः शृङ्के प्रशशंसुरथापरे । गौपजातिप्रतिच्छन्नदेहा गोपानरूपिणः।। इंडिरे कृष्ण-रामौ च नटा इव नटान नृप ।

37.

प्राकपूर्वं शंकरस्तुतौ शंकरस्तुति विषयीकृत्य ब्रह्मपोक्तपदैः * * । इति ब्रह्मपोक्ते जातिप्रस्तारे कथितैः पदेरुक्तेः कपालानि गायन कल्याणं भजते ।

पूजार्थं देवदेवस्य गान्धर्वं नृत्यमेव च। — विणुवर्व ६८।४२

These dances (nṛṭyas) and songs (kīrtanas) were known as the rāsakrīḍā, jalakrīḍā, chālikyakrīḍā, nṛṭyakrīḍā, nāṭyakrīḍā, vaṁśanṛṭyī, holika-mahotsava, vasantotsava, etc. Paṇḍit Śāstrī Fārke said: * * vādyādinā hastamita-kāṣṭḥadaṇḍa-dvayena vāghāta-puraḥsaraṃ maṇḍalākāraṃ nṛṭyanto gāyanti'.40 Further we find in the Garga-saṃhitā,

नृत्यन्तः कृष्णपुरतः श्रीकृष्ण इव मैथिल । राधावेशधरा गोप्यः शतचन्द्राननप्रभाः ॥

From this it is evident that the songs or kīrtanas, in praise of Kṛṣṇa, were always accompanied with classical dances. In his talk on The Kathak Dance-Its Origin41, Dr. G. D. Vyāsa said that hallīsaka, nātya-rāsaka or charcharī, and rāsa were placed in the category of uparūpakas. Bhāsa also mentioned them about hallīsaka in his Bālacharita, and Śrī Harsa about charcharī in his Ratnāvalī. 'Charcharī is exclusively intended for the spring. In the vrja language, it is known as as chañchara, dhāmāra and phāga, and is regularly performed during the days of holi. There are special music compositions for it in the difficult dhāmāra-tāla, and they too are named as dhāmāras'. He further said: 'The kirtanas make the resourceful music of Vaisnavism. They form an important part of the dhruvapada school, and originally the music of the Kathak dance. The kīrtanas have attributed to Kṛṣṇa poses like Tribhangī and Giridhari. They have described movements and Mandalas like Udghata, Sañcha, Urapa, Tirapa, Lāga and Dāt. They have mentioned gaits like Gat Mayanda (elephant), Hamsa and Mriga Marāla and moreover, a distinctive gait, Natavara Gati, and the Kathaka dance is also known for its Natvari. As regards the Angika-Abhinaya, kīrtanas have indicated various positions and movements of the head, neck and arms, and expressions such as Vrija-Vilāsa, Lāsya Hāsa and Bhrikuti-Vilāsa. As regards

^{40. &#}x27;* * वाद्यादिना हस्तमितकाष्ठदण्डद्वयेन वाघातपुरःसरं मण्डलाकारं नृत्यन्तो

^{41.} Vide Akāsavānī (AIR), Vol. No. XXIII, No. 32, August 10, 1958, p. 12.

hand-movements, kīrtanas have freely used the word 'Hastaka-Bheda-Dikhave', which means 'Hasta-Abhinayas of the different types' should be exhibited. It should be mentioned that Dr. Vyāsa discussed about the ancient type of kīrtana, accompanied with dances and hand-poses, that evolved in connection with the various Kṛṣṇa episodes. This type of kīrtana also originated under the influence of Vaiṣṇavism, and still it maintains the old tradition, different from that of the padāvalī-kīrtana, evolved under the influence of the Gauḍiya-Vaiṣṇavism, probably in the sixteenth-seventeenth century A.D.

It has been said that before Śrī Chaitanya introduced nāma-kīrtana42, nāmagāna or nāma-goṣṭḥa was prevalent in Bengal, and specially in Rāḍadeśa (i.e. in Beerbhūm, Katwā and some other portions of Burdwan). The namagana or namagostha used to be accompanied by mrdanga (khola), cymbals (karatāla), and dancing with raised hands. It has also been mentioned that during Śrī Chaitanya's time, different types of classico-folk songs like hāf-ākhdāi, kavi-gāna, tarjā, bāul, etc. were current in Bengal. It is said that Yavana Haridas introduced akhdai and kavi-gana, and Svarūpadāsa and Sanātanadāsa helped him in this matter. Fulia, on the bank of Betra-river in Nadiya, was the main seat of culture of these types of songs. The musicians of Santipur, Navadvipa, and Fulia, in the district of Nadiya, composed the divine episodes of sakhī-samvāda, māna, māna-bhanjana, jugala-milana, māthura, etc., containing Śrī Kṛṣṇa's divine sports (līlā) of Vrndāvana, Mathurā and Dvārakā.

42. Vṛndāvanadās said,

शिष्यगण वलेन केमन संकीर्तन।
आपने शिखाय प्रभु शचीर नन्दन।।
हरि हरये नमः कृष्ण यादवाय नमः।
गोपाल गोविन्द राम श्रोमधुस्दन।।
दिशा शिखायेन प्रभु हाते तालि दिया।
आपनि कीर्तन करे शिष्यगण लह्या।।

Narahari Sarkār, Vāsudeva Ghos and other contemporary Vaisnava savants described it in their padagītis.

If we study the source of origin of kirtana i.e. nāma-kīrtana, as introduced by Sri Chaitanya, we find that it evolved out of the remains of classico-regional charyā and vajra-gītis, Gitagovindagāna, Kr sna-kīrtana, nātagīti, bāul, etc. Though it was very simple, yet it followed the sāstric rules of metre (chanda), melody (rāga), rhythm (tāla), and tempo (laya), and was included in the nibaddha type of music. It was afterwards developed by Thakur Narottamadās, in the sixteenth century A.D. Narottamadās devised a new mode of kirtana, on the basis of nāma-kirtana and ancient type of nāmagāna in one side, and vilamvita (slow) type of classical dhruvapada song, on the other. He mastered dhruvapada, when he was at Vṛndāvana, accompanied by Śyāmānanda and Śrinivāsa. It is said that Haridās was initiated in the Gaudīya Vaisņava religion, founded by Śrī Chaitanya, and being one of the noted Vaisnava sādhakas, he was known as Svāmī Haridās, and as the founder of the Haridāsī or Sakhī sect, he was also recognized as 'Svāmī', the Master. Some are of the opinion that though Svāmī Haridās was the founder of the Haridāsī or Sakhī sect, yet he was not really initiated in the Gaudiya-Vaisnavism, and he had only great regard for the neo-Vaisnavism founded by Srī Chaitanya. It seems that he had no special philosophical doctrine of his own, and he adopted the Sakhibhāva in his spiritual sādhanā, as his beloved deity was Śrī Kuñjavihārī. But his followers at Vrndāvana recognized him as a staunch follower of the Gaudiya-Vaisnavism. They say that Srī Chaitanya himself adopted the Rādhā. bhāva in his life, as he himself 'placed himself in the position of Rādhā and longed in all the tormenting pangs of heart for union with his beloved Kṛṣṇa'. It is also found that the æsthetic attitude of the Vaisnava poets, headed by Jayadeva, Chandidāsa and Vidyāpati, was Sakhī-bhāva, rather than Rādhābhāva. Dr. Śaśībhūşan Dāśgupta said: 'It is to be noted that in the religious discourses, which took place between Sri Chaitanya and Rāy Rāmānanda, the latter stressed Sakhi-bhāva as the best means for realising divine love. * * The general Vaisņava view is that jīva, being the tatastha-śakti of Kṛṣṇa,

is, after all, a Prakṛti and its pride as being the Puruṣa (puruṣā-bhimāna) must be removed before it can be permitted to have its proper place, in the eternal region of svarūpa-šakti, and even then only as Sakhī, rather than as Rādhā, and never as Kṛṣṇa'. Nabha-Dāsaji's statement in the Bhaktamāla and even that of Prof. Wilson in the Religious Sects of the Hindus are not wholly correct and historical. It is possible that Svāmī Haridās or Svāmī Haridās-Gosvāmī adopted the religious attitude of Sakhī-bhāva, following the ideal of Jayadeva, Vadu Chaṇḍīdās, Vidyāpati, and other latter Vaiṣṇava savants, and he was contemporary of Jīva-Gosvāmī, Kavirāja Kṛṣṇadās Gosvāmī, and other senior Vaiṣṇava savants of the Chaitanya fold, he was undoubtedly influenced by them.

Svāmi Haridās was born in Ucchagrāma, in the district of Multan. It was afterwards named as Haridaspur. Some are of the opinion that he was born in Hossiarpur, in the district of Aligarh. Others hold that Haridasa's birth-place was at Rājpur, half a mile away from Vrndāvana. But the majority of scholars admit Haridaspur in Multan as the birth-place of Svāmī Haridās. There are also much controversies regarding the date of his birth. In Kavi-Laksana's Bhaktisindhu, we find that Haridas was born in 1441 samuat, i.e. on the 8th Bhādra, in 1385 A.D. According to the Gosvāmī's of Vṛndāvana, his birth-date is 1569 samvat. According to traditional records Svāmi Haridās, was born in 1537 samvat. archæologist Growse said in his Mathura Memoirs: on the 8th of the dark fortnight of the month of Bhadon in the samvat year 1441 gave birth of Haridas. * * therefore on all grounds we may firmly conclude as an established fact that he flourished at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century A.D., in the reigns of the Emperors Akbar and Jāhāngīr'. Svāmī Lalitakiśorejī is of the opinion that Haridās was born on the 13th śukla-pauşa, in 1569 : 'भादो सुकल अस्मी भू पर प्रगडे श्रीहरिदास'. Svāmī Pitāmvaradevajī also] said : 'भादो " सुकल अष्टमीके दिन भये मनोरथ परण काम'. Nagaridasaji said,

- क) श्रीवृन्दावन निजु कुञ्जमहनमे^{*} सोभा सहज सुहाइ हो। श्रीनन्तिता⁴³ हरिदास नाम जु पगट केलि दरशाह हो।।
- ख) भादुँ सुकल अष्टमी रसिकेन हिये प्रेम भार लाइ हो।।
- प्रम भार लाइ हा ।। ग) भादुँ सुकल अष्टमी शुभ दिन सु वास्दि वरषाये जु।।
- घ) प्रगटी श्रीहरिदासि स्वामिनी रसिक जननी सुखदाइ। भादुँ सुकल अष्टमी अद्भुत कही न जाइ।।

It is, therefore, found that all his disciples and followers admit that Svāmī Haridās was born in the sukla-aştamī, in the month of Bhādra (August-September), in the rainy season, which also corresponds to the views of Bhaktisindhu, and Growse. Haridasa's date of birth and birth-place have also been discussed in Kiśorīdāsa's Nijamata-siddhānta, Sahachāri-śaraņa's Gurupranālikā, and Brahmachāri Bihārī-śarana's Nimvārka-mādhurī. It is said that Svāmī Haridās lived for 95 years, and he left his mortal coil in 1608 A.D. But some are of the opinion that he died in 1662, whereas Tansen died in 1646 A.D. According to history, Emperor Akbar died in 1605, and Tansen died in March (24 Rajjav), in 1585, and Haridas in 1608. But if we accept the view of Kavi-Laksmana's Bhaktisindhu, which has been admitted by Growse, then we find that Haridas was born in 1441 samvat, corresponding to 1569 A.D., and died in 1569+95=1664 A.D.44 Again in the preface of the Siddhanta. ratnākara, edited by Viśveśvara-śaraņa (1956), Govinda Śarmā

'स्वामोजो का निकुञ्ज-प्रवेश व्यासजो के लीलाप्रवेश के पूर्व ही होगया था। इसके अनेक प्रमाण हैं। अतः स्वामोजीके निकुञ्ज-प्रवेश का सम्बत् १६३२ मानना ही ठीक होगा, १६६४ नहीं। विशेषकर इस लिए कि स्वामीजी और कृष्णदास का नाम साथ-साथ आया

^{43.} Svāmī Haridās was recognized by his followers as the divine incarnation of Lalitā-Sakhī.

^{44.} This fact has also been discussed before.

है। कृष्णदास का देहान्त १६३२ बि० के आसपास हआ है। अ * अतः स्वामो हरिदासजी का जन्म सम्बद् १५३७ में मानने के लिए उपयुक्त कारण पर्याप्त है'।

In the Vyāsa-vāṇi, we also find the mention of the following lines,

कृष्णदास हरिदास उपास्यौ वृन्दाबन को चन्द। जिन बिनु जीवत मृतक भए हम सह्यौ विपति को फन्द। तिन विनु उरकौ सूल मिठै क्योँ जिये व्यास अति मन्द।।

From this verse we know that Kṛṣṇadās (Svāmī) was contemporary to Svāmī Haridās. Svāmī Haridās took him as his Guru. Some are of the opinion that Haridasa's music-teacher was one Kṛṣṇadatta. But this view is untenable. However, it is true that many Vaisnava savants of that time (fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D.) used to culture the classical type of music at Vṛndāvana. Though Gwālior school of prabandha-dhruvapada type of songs was predominant at that time all over India, yet Vṛndāvana created a new school and inspiration to some extent. Narmadeśvara Chaturvedī said in his article on Swāmi extent. (vide Sangīta, Journal, Sept. 1958) that Hita Hari-Haridās (vide Sangīta, Journal, Sept. 1958) that Hita Hari-vamsa, Harirāma-Vyāsa, Rūpa-Gosvāmi, Prabodhānanda-Sarasvatī, and Gopāl-bhatta or Gosvāmī Raghunāthdās were contemporary to Svāmī Haridās. There is a great controversy as to who was the music-teacher of Thakur Narottamadas. Some are of the opinion that he first took lesson in classical music from Kṛṣṇadāsa-Kavirāja, and then from Advaitadāsa-Gosvāmī, the students of Svarūpa-Dāmodara. Unfortunately there is no genuine historical proof in support of this view. But the fact is that Narottama learned classical music and especially dhrupada (diminutive from 'dhruvapada') which was traditionally handed down from Baiju-bāorā, Gopāla-Nāyaka, Svāmī Kṛṣṇadāsa, Svāmī Haridās, Miān Tānsen, and their contemporaries. But by this it does not mean that the prabandha type of dhruvapada classical gitis were not current and cultured before Bāiju-bāorā and others, of the fifteenthseventeenth century A.D. Because we find the definitions and description of different kinds of nibaddha prabandha type of gītis, during the times of Matanga (fifth-seventh century A.D.), Pārśvadeva (ninth-eleventh century A.D.), Śārangadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.), and others.

In Bharata's Nātyašāstra, we find the sixty-four classical dramatic songs (nātyagītis), called dhruvā ('चतुःषिट भ वाणां') which were composed of different letters (समन्ताहाकृता अतोऽन्या विषमाः स्मृताः), music-parts (dhātus), aṅgas like svara, viruda, pāta, etc. They were nibaddha type of prabandha gītis, and were presented in accordance with suitable place, time and circumstances ('देशां कालमबस्थां च ज्ञात्वा योज्या भ वा बुधेः' NS. 32.352). The prabandha type of dramatic songs, dhruvās, jātis, brahmagītis, kapālagītis, māgadhī, etc. were probably the precursors or forerunners of the latter prabandha-gītis. But dhruvā is quite different from dhruva-prabandha.

Matanga (fifth-seventh century A.D.) dealt with the praban-dha type of formalized (śuddhikṛta) regional (deśi) gitis, in the sixth chapter (prabandhādhyāya) of his Bṛhaddeśi (देशीकारमवन्धोऽयं), though he mystifies the origin of the prabandhas with the name of the Lord Siva ('हरववत्राधिनिंगीताः'). He defined and at the same time described various kinds of the prabandhas like dhruva, dhenki, elā, dandaka, dvipadī, chaturanga, śarabhalīla, etc. He said,

स्वरपाट निवद्धं च भवेत् यत्र पदाष्टकम् । मतः शरभन्नीलोऽसौ रागतालाष्टकान्वितः ॥४१ -

or

स्वरै: पदेश पाटेश तेन्तकेश्च⁴⁵ समन्वित:। गीयते तालयुक्तो यः स वर्णासरकः स्मृतः॥१०७

But the Brhaddesi, that has been published from Trivandrum (1928), is incomplete, as we find that Matanga said: 'इदान' कथियामि बाह्यस निर्णयो यथा', but the book ends abruptly with the prabandha chapter ('* * मवन्धाध्यायः पष्टः'). Matanga described the prabandha, dhruva, and not dhruvā (nātyagīti).

^{45.} The correct reading तेनकेश।

Parsvadeva (ninth-eleventh century A.D.) also dealt with the prabandha-gitis in the fourth chapter of his Sangita-samayasara including the dhruva-prabandha. He described three main classes of prabandhas, sūda, āli and viprakīrņa. He further mentioned the dhruva-prabandha, together with its varieties, mattha (mantha), pratimattha (pratimantha), lambaka, rāsaka, ekatāli, etc. Sārangadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.) described elaborately the prabandha type of gitis in the fourth chapter of his Sangita-Ratnākara. Besides, he divided the prabandhas into three main heads, sūda, āli-samsraya, and viprakīrņa (vide IV. 22-23), following the method of Pārśvadeva. He further divided the sūda type of the prabandhas into two, suddha and chāyālaga or sālaga. The chāyālaga and sālaga are one and the same ('सालग-छायालगो-पर्यायो'). Sārangadeva said that the pure type of dhruva-prabandhas are of sixteen kinds ('चतुर्दश-मोतानि एतावच्छुद्धम्'), and they are : jayanta, šekhara, utsāha, madhura, nirmala, kuntala, kāmala, chāra, naṇḍana, chandrašekhara, kāmoda, vijaya, kandarpa, jayamangala, tilaka and lalita. Kallinath said in his commentary that the seven kinds of the salaganatu saida prabandhas like dhruva, mantha, pratimantha, nissākhe, addtāla and akatāli are composed of three music-parts (dhātus) like and antarā, and ābhoga, melāpaka being left out ('एते भुवादयः possessed of six limbs ('मण्डाद्यस्यु पद्षि').

possessed of six finds said that the dhruva and other six prabandhas Sārangadeva said that the dhruva and other six prabandhas are known as sālaga-sūḍa ('बह्यमाणं ध्रुवमारम्य वसमाणैकतालीपर्यन्तं सप्तिमः are known as sālaga-sūḍa ('बह्यमाणं ध्रुवमारम्य वसमाणैकतालीपर्यन्तं सप्तिमः गीतेः सालगस्वोऽभिमतः'), though they were previously called as suddha-गीतेः सालगस्वधनो स्ववे'—SR. IV. 313), and this term, sūḍa ('ब्रुब्स्इः प्राक्सालगस्त्वधुनो स्ववे'—SR. IV. 313), and this term, sūḍa ('ब्रुब्स्इः प्राक्सालगस्त्वधुनो स्ववे by Pārśvadeva in his Sangita-samaya-sara ('ब्रुव्ह्यस्वाः').

Regarding the characteristics of the composition of the dhruva prabandha, Śārangadeva said,

एक धानु द्वितग्छं च त्वष्ठमुण्यतरं परम् । स्तुत्वनामाञ्जितथासौ कश्विषुण्यैकत्वण्डकः ॥ उत्प्राहस्याचत्वण्डे च श्यासः सध्रुषको भवेत् ॥

-SR. IV. 316-17.

That is, the two parts or pieces (of the dhruva prabandha) are sung as udgrāha (or udgrāhaka), the one part or piece is sung as ābhoga, and the last part of it is in the high pitch. Again the two parts of udgrāha, together with one part of antarā (=three parts) are repeated twice. The name of the composer is computed in the ābhogadhātu, and the song ends (nyāsa) in the first part of udgrāha. According to some, one of the parts of ābhoga is sung in the high pitch. Kallināth said that the dhruva prabandhas are included in the category (anga) of the tārāvalī jatī ('va धूबाद्यस्तालादिनियमाचिष्ठ काः पद्ताल-बद्धत्वाबाद्धास्तारावलीजातिमन्तः'). The sixteen varieties of the dhruva prabandha are composed of different letters (kalās) and rhythms (tālas).

It is, therefore, most probable that the particular sālaga-sūḍa or sālaga-dhruva-prabandha is the precursor or forerunner of the classical dhruvapadas (or dhrupada) of the mediæval and modern times. Baiju-bāorā, Gopāla-Nāyaka, Rājā Mān of Gwālior, Svāmī Kṛṣṇadās, the disciple of Rāi Rāmānanda (of Orissa), Svāmī Haridās, Miān Tānsen, and others undoubtedly cultured the dhruvapada that traditionally came down from the pre-Matanga period.

However, Thākur Narottama left Vṛndāvana in 1581-1582 A.D., accompanied by Syāmānanda and Śrīnīvāsa. At that time Kavirāj Kṛṣṇadās Gosvāmī left his moral coil (in 1582 A.D.). Narottamadās returned to Khetari in the district of Rājsāhī, and introduced the developed form of rasa and līlā kīrtana. He devised it on the pattern of the prabandha-dhruva-

^{46.} Simhabhupāla said : 'तेषु धुवं लक्ष्यति * *। पूर्वं सहशाग्य-स्वण्डद्वयपुक्त उदम्राहः कर्तव्यः। ततोऽनन्तरं किञ्चिद्धच्चं स्वण्डमन्तरास्त्यं कर्तव्यमः एतत् अयमि दिरभ्यस्तं दिर्गयम्। ततोऽनन्तरं स्वण्डद्वयपुक्त आभोगः, तस्य प्रथमं स्वण्डद्वय-मेकधातु सहशाग्यस्वण्डद्वयपुक्तम्, द्वितोयस्वण्डं ततोऽत्युच्चं गातव्यम्। असावाभोगस्तुत्यस्य नायकस्य नाम्ना युक्तः कार्यः। कच्चित केषाञ्चिस्मतेऽयमुच्चेकस्वण्डं गातव्यः। उद्गाहस्य आद्यस्वण्डं च समाप्तः स धुव इति ह्वेयः'।

pada. It was in the slow tempo (vilamvita-laya), and was very majestic and colourful. Gaurāngadās and Devīdās accompanied Narottama with mṛdanga (khola), and Śrīdās and Gokuladās with music. It is said that all of them were aged, and took training from Svarūpa-Dāmodara, the personal attache of Śrī Chaitanya. Some are of the opinion that they were trained under the guidance of Rāghunāthdās Gosvāmī. The new and novel type of rasa or līlā-kīrtana, introduced by Narottamadās, was more systematic and serene. It was mainly based on the divine emotional sentiment and mood (rasa and bhāva), and so it was known as 'rasa-kīrtana', and as its composition or theme was based on the divine sportive plays of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, it was also called 'līlā-kīrtana'.

Thākur Narottamadās was born at Khetari. Khetari was situated in the Gaderhāt sub-division, in the district of Rājsāhī. His father's name was Kṛṣṇānanda-dutt, and his mother was Nārāyaņī-devī. It is said that Kṛṣṇānanda-dutt was the zemindar of Gopālapur. Narottama took initiation from Lokanāth-Gosvāmi, and became a devout Vaisnava. When he was young, he left his hearth and home, and went to Vṛndāvana for the critical study of the Vaisnava literature. After coming back from Vrndavana, he began to live at Khetari, at the request of his uncle's son, Santosa-dutt. At that time he arranged a grand festival (mahotsava) i.e. conference for the Vaisnavas, and thousands of the Vaisnava savants assembled at Khetari, from different parts of Bengal, Bihār and Orissā. The mahotsava of Khetari was a memorable one. Śrīmatī Jānhavīdevī, the wife of Śrī Nityānanda, presided over that mahotsava. Narottama introduced there his newly devised kīrtana, together with gourachandrikā i.e. songs in praise of the glory and greatness of Śrī Chaitanya who was considered, by the Vaisnavas of that time, as the divine incarnation of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa together in one. Especially the Vaisnava savants like Svarūpa-Gosvāmī, Kṛṣṇadās-Kavirāja, Govindadās and others developed this idea of 'antah-kṛṣṇa' (internally Śrī Kṛṣṇa) and 'vahirgaura' (externally Gaura, i.e. Chaitanya), upon the lines

'kṛṣṇa-varṇaṃ tviṣā-kṛṣṇaṃ',⁴⁷ etc. of the Bhāgavata (11.5.29). Kavirāja-Gosvāmī said in the Charitāmṛta,

तवे हासि तारे प्रभु देखाल स्वरूप । रसराज महाभाव दुइ एक रूप ॥⁴⁸

Rūpa-Gosvāmī said in the Kadchā: 'Rādhā-kr,sna-pranayavikṛti * * rādhā-bhāva-dyuti-suvalitam naumi kṛṣṇa-rūpam'49. However, the rasa or līlā-kīrtana of Narottamadās had a style (gāyana-śaili) of its own, and it was known as 'garāṇahāti' or 'gaderahāti', having originated in the Gaderhāt pargaņā. But this style, being difficult and slow in tempo, was not properly appreciated by the general mass. So different styles gradually evolved, to suit the taste and temperament of the people, and they were manoharasāhi, rāṇihāti or reneti, mandāriṇi and jhādakhandi. All these styles or schools, with different forms and compositions, were named likewise after the places of their origin. As for example, the style or school of manoharasāhi was so named as it evolved from the Manoharasāhi pargaṇā, the style or school, rāṇihāti or reņeti had its origin in the Rāṇihāti pargaṇā, that of mandāriņi originated in the Sarkāra-Mandāraņa, and that of jhādakhandī had its origin in the district of Midnapore. Some are of the opinion that the schools, garāṇahāti or gaderahāti, rāṇihāti or reneti, and mandāriņi may be compared to those of khāndāravānī, dāgaravānī, laharavanī and gvahāravāņi of the dhruvapada giti, which had their origins from different places, during the time of the Emperor Akbar. Some others compared those styles or schools of kirtana with the four types of classical music, dhruvapada, kheyāl, thumri, and tappā. All these were merely different conceptions from different angles of vision. Otherwise, all these different styles or schools (gharāṇās) were independent from one another. The

^{47.} कृष्णवर्णं त्विषाकृष्णं साङ्गोपाङ्गास्त्र-पार्षदम् । यज्ञैः संकोर्तन-पार्येर्यजन्ति हि सुमेधसः ॥

^{48.} Vide चेतन्यचरितामृत, मध्यलीला ८।

^{49.} राधाकृष्णप्रणयविकृति * * राधाभाव-च तिसुवलितम् नौमि कृष्णरूपम ।

different styles of padāvalī-kīrtana were divised by different Kīrtanīyās of talent, in different times. As for example, Ţḥākur Narottama introduced the garāṇahāti or gaderahāti style, Vipradāsa Ghos, the manoharasāhi, Thākur Gokulānanda, the ranihāti or reneti, and Venidāsa, the mandārinī respectively. The style or school of jhāḍakhaṇḍī was introduced by Kavīndra Gokula. This style is now out of practice, and the special features of those four schools are also not easily recognizable at present, for want of their proper knowledge and culture and application. It is said that those styles of kīrtana were presented with different time-units (tālas). As for example, 108 tālas were used in the kīrtana of the garānahāti style, 25 in manoharasāhī, 26 in raņihāti or reņeti, and 9 in mandāriņī. Manipurī style of kīrtana of Āssām owes its debt to Ţḥākur Narottama, as Narottama went to different places of Āssām, to propagate his new style of kīrtana, together with the Vaisnava religion. After Thakur Narottama, his worthy disciple Gangā Nārāyana Chakravurty also made similar tour round Assam and Manipur. The kirtana of Manipur is presented with the dance-dramas, having divine plots with the sportive plays of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

It has already been said that padāvalī-kīrtana of Bengal is the nibaddha-prabandha type of classical music, as it consists of different music-parts (dhātus) and six limbs (saḍangas), etc. In Bharata's Nātyaśāstra, we find that while he mentions about the gīti 'samkīrtana', he said that it is a type of music, which should be presented with metre, rhythm, etc. He described, Yastveṣāṃ sāttvike bhāvaḥ karma samkīrtanaṃ cha yat /

Yastveṣāṃ sāttvike bhavaṇ karma samatanaṇ saa yat / Tat-kāryaṃ gāna-yoge tu pramāṇaṃ vidhi-saṁśrayam //

Chandaḥ-pramāṇa-saṃyuktaṃ divyānāṃ gāna-miṣyate / Stutyāśrayeṇa tat-kāryaṃ karma-saṃkīrtanādapi //50

50. यस्त्वेषां सात्त्विके भावः कर्म सङ्कीर्तनं च यत । ततकार्यं गानयोगे तु प्रमाणं विधिसंश्रयम ।।

Therefore it is evident that the auspicious (divya) gīti, dhruvā, known as samkirtana, was prevalent also in the first-second century A.D. in the form of stuti-gana. The dhruvas were sacred like the post-Vedic brahmagītis or anga-gītis like tk, gāthā, pāņikā, etc.: 'jayāśīrvāda-yuktāni kāryā-nyetāni daivate, rg-gāthāpāņikā hyeṣām voddhvyāstu pramānatah'.51 During the time of Muni Bharata (second century A.D.), when the nibaddhaprabandha type of dhruvās (dramatic or stage-songs) were sung with jātirāgas, different metres (chandas), rhythms (tālas), and tempi (layas) for sacred purpose, they were known as sainkirtana or kirtana. This sacred type of music was probably revived with some new form and theme of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-tattva during the awakening of the Gaudiya-Vaisnavism, in the fifteenthsixteenth century A.D. Ghanasyama-Narahari, one of the great Gaudiya-Vaisnava savants and musicologists, said in the Bhaktiratnākara:

> केह कहे निवद्ध-गीतेर संज्ञात्रय । प्रवन्ध, वस्तु, रूपक ए' प्रसिद्ध हय ॥ धातु-चतुष्टय आर पद्दः इहाय । हड्ले प्रकृष्ट-बद्ध प्रवन्ध कहय ॥

That is, a prabandha-type of song is known by its four music-parts (dhātus) and six limbs (angas), whereas a vastu-type of song consists of three music-parts and five limbs, and rūpaka-type is possessed of two music-parts and two limbs. Ghana-śyāma-Narahari said regarding the dhātu,

Prabandhāvayavo dhātuḥ sa chaturdhā prakīrtitaḥ | Udgrāhaka-melāpakaḥ-dhruvābhoga iti kramāt //52

छन्दः प्रमाणसंयुक्तं दिव्यानां गानमिष्यते । स्तुत्याश्रयेण तत् कार्यं कर्मसंकीर्तनादणि ।।

—नाट्यशास्त्र जयाशीर्वादयुक्तानि कार्यान्येतानि देवते । ऋग्गाथापाणिका ह्योपां बोद्धव्यास्तु प्रमाणतः ।।

—नाट्यशास्त्र 52. प्रवन्धावयवो धातुः स चतुर्धा प्रकोर्तितः । उद्प्राहक-मेलापकः धुवाभोग इति क्रमात ॥ That is, a dhātu is a part of a song, and it is of four kinds, udgrāhaka, melāpaka, dhruva, and ābhoga. Narahari said that the Kirtanīyās (demonstrators of the kīrtana) strictly observe the rules, as laid down by the treatises like Gīta-prakāśa, Saṅgīta-pārijāta, Saṅgīta-śiromaṇi, Saṅgīta-raṭnamālā, Vāchaspati, Saṅgīta-dāmodara, Saṅgīta-nārāyaṇa, etc. No one did venture to violate the śāstric rules and injunctions. The classical melodies (rāgas) and rhythms (tālas) were used in kīrtana, as they were strictly observed in saṅkīrtana in Bharata's time (second century A.D.). They are strictly observed also in the present system of Vaiṣṇava padāvalī-kīrtana.

Naraharidās further said, regarding the prabandha type of

song,

प्रवन्धेर घातु पश्च⁵³ शास्त्रे ए निर्धार ।
पङ्ख प्रवन्धगीत सर्वत्र प्रचार ।।
स्वर विरुद् पद तेनक पाट ताल ।
एइ छय अखे गीत परम रसाल ।।
स्वर-सरिगमपधादिक निरूपय ।
गुण-नामयुक्त मते विरुद् कह्य ।।
पद-शृब्द-वाचक प्रकार बहु इथे ।
तेता तेनादिक शब्द मख्ज निमित्ते ।।
पाट वाचोद्धवाहार धाधा धिलंगादि ।
ताल चच्चतपुट यत्यादिक यथाविधि ।।
ए' घडुंग प्राचीन आचार्य निरूपय ।
वाक्य स्वर ताल तेना चारि केष्ठ कथ ।।

The six limbs of the prabandha type of a song are svara or notes taken at their proper pitch, viruda or panegyric, pada or name of its object, tenaka or cadence of notes as a symbolic standard, pāta or the continuous imitation of sound, proceeding from percussion instruments and tāla or rhythm, expressed by beat. Tālas are chacchatputa, yat, etc. Some musicologists are of the opinion that a prabandha is possessed of four limbs (angas),

^{53.} Narahari said about five limbs (pancha-dhatu). Again he said somewhere about four dhatus (dhatu-chatustayam).

words, notes, rhythm, and cadence of notes. Śārangadeva also said: 'prabandho'ngāni şat, tasya svarasya virudam, padam, tenakah pāta-tālau'. 54 From Naraharidās, we come to know that padāvalī-kīrtana consists of six limbs or angas like svara, viruda. etc., as has been described before.

Again padāvalī-kīrtana was possessed of five jātis, composed of different limbs. Regarding these, Narahari mentioned in the Bhaktiratnākara:

प्रवन्धे जाति पञ्च — मेदिनी निन्दिनी। दीपनी पावनी तारावली कहे मुनि।। पड़ ग मेदिनी नाम पञ्चांग निन्दिनी। चारि अंग दिपनी ए' त्रयांग पावनी।। अंगद्दय तारावली गीतिविज्ञ कहे। इत्थे जान एकांग प्रवन्ध सिद्ध नहे।।

Śārangadeva also said regarding the jātis of classical songs,

मेदिन्यथानन्दिनी स्यादीपनी भावनी तथा । तारावलीति पञ्च स्युः प्रवन्धानां तु जातयः ॥

Therefore, kīrtana belongs to medinī-type, when it is composed of five limbs (angas). It is recognized as dīpanī, when it consists of four limbs; it is pāvanī, when possessed of three limbs; it is called tārāvalī, when possessed of two limbs; and when kīrtana is composed of only one limb, it is recognized as the prabandha. In Śāraṅgadeva's Saṅgīta-Ratnākara, pāvanī is known as bhāvanī.

The padāvalī-kīrtana is included in the category of tārāvalī and sama-dhruvā type of the prabandha gīti, as distinct from pañchālī or pāñchālikā, which is recognized as viṣama-dhruvā type of the prabandha. Paṇḍit Harekṛṣṇa Mukherjee said in his Padāvalī-parichaya that one of the greatest exponent of the padāvalī-kīrtana, late Avadhūta Bandopādhyāya was of the opinion that kīrtana of Bengal was included in the tārāvalī and samadhruvā type of song. The pāñchālī type of songs are the

. 54. प्रवन्धोऽ'गानि पट्, तस्य स्वरस्य विरुदं पदम, तेनकः पाटतालौ ।
—संगीत-रटनावर, ४र्थ, प्रवन्धाध्यायः।

mangala-gānas like kṛṣṇamangala, śivamangala, chaṇḍimangala, mansāmangala, etc. The mangalagītis of Bengal are also known as the nibaddha type of classical music. Śārangadeva said in the Sangita-Ratnākara:

Vadanam chaccharī charyā paddhadī rāhadī tathā / Vīraśrī-mangalāchāri dhavalo mangalastathā //55

That is, chacchari or chanchara, charyā, māngala, etc. were sometimes very favourite songs of Bengal. They were known as niryukta type of songs, possessed of different metres, melodies, rhythms, and tempi, whereas the aniryukta ones were like the ālāpa or ālapti, possessed of only melody (rāga), and tempo (laya). The kirtana, being the tārāvali and samadhruvā type of song, can be known as similar to the charyā, to some extent. The only difference between the charyā and the kirtana lies in the fact that the former had some repititions of one or two stanzas, while the latter was sung, and are sung even these days, with the music-part (dhātu), dhruva, both by the main singer (mūla-gāyena) and his party, in unison. In this respect, the method of singing the mangala-gāna seems different from the padāvali-kīrtana, in some respects.

It has already been said that padāvalī-kīrtana is purely emotional (bhāvātmakaṃ) in its nature, and for this reason it is known as 'rasa-kīrtana'. In truth, emotional sentiments and moods (rasa and bhāva) are the life-force (prāṇa) of the padāvalī-kīrtana of Bengal. It stirs the emotional depth of the musicians as well as of the listeners. The mystic Vaiṣṇava composers (padakartās) have used sixty-four æsthetic sentiments (rasas), dividing them into two main groups, vipralambha and sambhoga. Rūpa-Gosvāmī, Kavi-karṇapura, and Pitāmvaradās have said in their Ujjvalanilamaṇi and Bhakti-rasāyaṇa, Alamkāra-kaustubha, and Rasamañjarī that vipralambha and sambhoga are

55. बदनं चच्चरी चर्या पञ्जरो राहदी तथा।

बीरश्रीर्भ'गलाचारी धवली मंगलास्तथा ॥

Pārśvadeva discussed these probandhas in his Sanglia-samayasāra, before Śārangadeva.

the two modifications of the basic sentiment, śrngāra or divine primal creative urge. The vipralambha is again divided into four, pūrvarāga, māna, premavichittya, and pravāsa. The sambhoga is an enjoyment of the pure union of the lover and the beloved woman. It is also divided into four types, enjoyment in a short period (samkṣipta-sambhoga), mixed enjoyment (samkīrṇa-sambhoga), accomplished enjoyment (sampanna-sambhoga), and ripe enjoyment (samrddhi-sambhoga). The four emotive feelings and their enjoyments are the manifestations of eight kinds of æsthetic sentiments, as described by Muni Bharata, in the Nātyaśāstra. Bharata said,

Śrngāra-hāsya-karuņa-raudra-veera-bhayānakāh /

Vibhatsādbhuta-samjñau chetyastau nātyo rasāḥ smṛtāḥ //56 Besides nātya, Bharata said that emotional sentiments are applicable ty dhruvā and jātirāga gānas: 'dhruvā-vidhāne kartavyā jātigāne prayatnataḥ, rasam kāryamavasthām cha * * '(NS. 29.4). These śāstric rules are also applied to the padāvalī-kīrtana. It adopts eight main æsthetic sentiments, along with their subsentiments, resulting in sixty-four (8×8=64) ones. As for example,

- (क) ।। अभिसारिक ।। (१) ज्योतस्नाभिसारिका, (२) तामसाभिसारिका, (३) वर्षाभिसारिका, (४) दिवाभिसारिका, (५) कुज्भिटिकाभिसारिका, (६) तीर्थयात्राभिसारिका, (७) उन्मत्ताभिसारिका, (८) असमञ्जसाभिसारिका।
- (ख) ।। वासवसज्जा ।। (१) मोहिनी, (२) जाग्रतिका, (३) रोदिता, (४) मध्योक्तिका, (४) सुप्रिका, (६) चिकता, (७) सुरसा, (८) उद्देशा।
 - (ग) ॥ उतकण्ठता ॥ (१) दुर्मति, (२) विकला, (३) स्तब्धा, (४) अचेतना,

(४) सुस्रोतकिषठता, (६) मुगधा, (७) मुस्तरा, (८) निर्वन्धा।

- (घ) ।। विप्रलब्धा ।। (१) विकला, (२) प्रेममत्ता, (३) वलेशा, (४) विनीता, (४) निर्देश, (६) प्रस्वरा, (७) दस्यादरा. (८) भीता ।
- (इ) ।। स्विण्डिता ।। (१) निन्दा, (२) क्रोधा, (३) भयानका, (४) प्रगल्भा, (४) मध्या, (६) मुगधा, (७) किप्ता, (८) सन्तप्ता ।
 - 56. शृ'गार-हास्य-करुण-रौद्र-घीर-भयानकाः। वीभतसादभ्तसंज्ञौ चेत्यष्टौ नाट्यो रसाः स्मृताः॥

नाट्यशास्त्र ६।१४

- (च) ।। कलहान्धरित ।। (१) आग्रहा, (२) गुग्धा, (३) धीरा, (४) अधीरा, (१) कुपिता, (६) समा, (७) मृदुला, (८) विधुरा ।
- (छ) ।। प्रोषितभत्त् का ।। (१) भावि, (२) भवन, (३) भूता, (४) दशदशा, (४) दत-संवाद, (६) विलाप, (७) सल्याक्तिका, (८) भावोच्समा ।
- (ज) ॥ खाधोनधत्त् का ॥ (१) कोपना, (२) मानिनी, (३) मुरधा, (४) मध्या, (४) समुक्तिका, (६) सोक्सासा, (७) अनुकृता, (८) अधिषिका ।⁵⁷

Again, five parts of the sub-limbs (upāngas) are used in the padāvalī-kīrtana, and they are: (1) kathā, dohā, ānkhara, tuka and chūta. (1) The kathā denotes lakṣya (words or composition—sāhitya) and lakṣana (theory). Besides, it signifies questions and answers (ukti and pratyukti), connecting link between one piece of song and another, and expansion of meaning of the composition or speech. (2) Dohā means stanzas (two consecutive lines of a song), tripadī (three lines of a composition), chaupadī (four lines) etc., and they are repeated by the

- 57. Śrī Rūpa-Gosvāmī said in his Ujjvalanīlamani about these 64 rasas, in connection with the nāyikā-bheda:
 - (क) यथाभिसारमते काश्त स्वयं वाधिसरत्यपि । सा ज्यौस्ती तामसी यानयोग्यवेपाधिसारिका ॥
 - (स्व) स्ववासकपशात कान्ते समेष्यति निजं वपुः ।
 स्थनीकरोति गेष्ठञ्ज या सा वासकसञ्जिका ।।
 - (ग) अनागिस प्रियतमे चिरयत्युत्सुका तु या। विरक्षितकण्डिता भाववेदिभिः सा समीरिता।।
 - (घ) कृत्वा सङ्कीतमपाष्ठी दैवाज्ञीवितवरत्तभे । व्यथमानान्त्ररा घोक्ता विवत्वच्या मनीपिभः ॥
 - (ङ) उल्लङ्घा समयं यस्याः प्रेयानन्योपभोगवात् । भोगसक्षाङ्कितः प्रातरागन्छोत सा व्रिष्विण्डता ॥
 - (च) या सखीनां पुरः पादपिततं वस्त्रभं रुषा ।निरस्य पश्चात्तपति कल्रहान्तरिता हि सा ।।
 - (छ) दूरदेशं गते कान्ते भवेत प्रोसितभरत् का।
 - (ज) स्त्रायत्तासम्बद्धिता भवेत स्वाधीनभरत् का । सन्निलारण्यविक्रीदा-कुसुमाबाचयादिकृत ॥

singers. (3) Ankhara is a unique contribution to the padāvalī-kīrtana of Bengal. It seems similar to tāna of the Hindusthānī classical music, to some extent. Ankhara is an extempore composition. (4) Tuka is an ornamental part of a song, which is traditionally handed down from one community of singers to another. (5) Chhuta is a part of a stanza of the kīrtana, i.e. when a portion of a song is present, instead of the entire portion, it is known as chhuta. Besides them, jhumurā or jhumrī is also used as an upānga of the kīrtana. It is a rule or procedure to sing a song of union (milana-gāna) between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, after finishing the entire composition. But, if in any case, it is not possible to complete the gaurachandrikā or the entire theme of the kīrtana (pālā-gāna), the singer shall represent jhumrā or jhumrī for the completion of the kīrtana.

Now, what do we mean by the gaurachandrikā? It does not mean the padas (gānas), composed in memory of Śrī Gaurānga, are known as the gaurachandrikā, but the padas, which arouses divine emotional sentiments (rasas) in the pālā-gānas of the rasa-kīrtana, are known as the gaurachandrikā. In the gaurachandrikā, Śrī Chaitanya is conceived as an embodiment of both Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Śrī Rādhā. In the Chaitanya.

Chandrameta, we find this idea:

कचित कृष्णावेशाचटति बहुभङ्गीमभिनयन।

किचिद् राधाविष्टो हरिहरिहरीत्यार्तिकदितः ॥

In the padāvalī-kīrtana, twelve mystic tattvas are used, and they are: (a) union of the divine couple (yugala-rūpa), (b) manifestation and enjoyment (prakāśa and vilāsa), (c) enjoyment of the emotional sentiment (rasāsvādana), (d) mutual adoration (pārasparika bhajana), (e) the Lord and the devotee (Bhagavāna and Bhakta), (f) ideal of the devotee (sādhya-vastu), (g) spiritual practice of the devotee (sādhanā), (h) pūrva-rāga and anu-rāga, (i) abhisāra, (j) vāsakasajjā, (k) divine union

58. Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmī and other eminent Gaudīya-Vaisnava-Āchāryas as conceived this grand idea of Śrī Kṛṣṇa with the goldenyellow lusture of Śrī Rādhā, and described Śrī Chaitanya as a Divine Incarnation of both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

(milana) and the tattva par-excellence, and (1) Radha and Krsna. Besides, the intuitive perception of the divine couple, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are the central theme of the padāvalī-kīrtana. And it should be remembered that this intuitive or spiritual perception of the divine couple is the realization of the inseparable relation (abheda-samvandha) between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Both are mutually realizing the infinite potency of love and bliss, and this mutual relation of love is the secret of the whole drama, enacted in the eternal land of Vrndavana. This realization is the aim and ideal of the padāvali-kīrtana. The philosophical idea of the kīrtana also lies in it. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are here conceived as one. Śri Kṛṣṇa, being the ultimate Being, is possessed of svarūpa-śakti, jīva-śakti or tatastha-śakti, and māyā-śakti. The svarūpa-śakti is the consummation of the divine attributes of existence (Sat), consciousness (Chit), and bliss (Ananda). The potency of these three attributes acts like three powers in the nature of God, which are known as sandhini (the power of existence), samuit (the power of consciousness) and hladini (the power of bliss, which is of the nature of infinite love). 59 The padāvalī-kīrtana of Bengal Vaisņavism aims at the divine intuition and feeling of this highest tattva. This theological and philosophical ideas of the kirtana developed on the doctrinal foundation of the Upanişad, Pancharatra, Purana, Śrīmatbhāgavata, and Bengal Buddhism, and Sahajiyā cults.

The composition (sāhitya or pada) of the kirtana is deeply concerned with name, age, quality, beauty, grace, sweetness and lusture, and character (guṇa, vayasa, rūpa, lāvaṇya, saundarya, abhirūpatā, mādhurya, mārdava, nāma, charitra and anubhāva), as they are the source of inspiration to the devotees. They intensify the love and devotion to Śri Kṛṣṇa. The hero (nāyaka) of the theme of the kīrtana is imagined in four different ways, and they are dhīra-lalita, dhīra-śānta, dhīroddhata, and dhirodātta. Besides, Śrī Kṛṣṇa is conceived here in different ways (rūpabheda).

It has already been said that eight Nāyikās with their eight

^{59.} Vide Dr. S. B. Dasgupta: Obscure Religious Cults (Calcutta University, 1946), pp. 143-144.

emotional moods have been conceived in the pada-kirtana, and those Nāvikās are :

1) Abhisārikā—Nāyikā who proceeds towards samketa-

kunja for meeting with the beloved.

2) Bāsakasajjā-Nāyikā who is engaged in decorating her body for going to the Kunja.

3) Utkanthitā-Nāyikā who eagerly awaits for the arriving

of her beloved.

- 4) Vipralabdhā—Nāyikā who has been cheated by her beloved.
- 5) Khandita-Nāyikā who is angry to see her beloved for lately arriving in the next morning.

6) Kalahantaritā—The support (āsraya) of Khanditā

māna, but Nāyikā is repented not getting her beloved.

7) Prositabhatrkā—The deprived Nāyikā, and she is then birohini.

8) Svādhinabhatrkā—Nāyikā has found the Nāyaka near

her, but yet there is a sign of depriving of union.

It should be noted that vipralambha and sambhoga i.e. pangs for separation from the Nāyaka and then meeting with Him gives the Nāyikā unbounded joy and delight—these two things or moods are essential for the pada-kīrtana.

Let us quote a pada of abhisāra by Rāy Sekhara,

Vrajabuli :

गगने अवधन मेह दारुण सघने दामिनी चमकइ। कुलिश-पातन शवद भान भान पवन खरतर वलगड ।। सजिन, आजु दूरदिन भेल। हामारि कान्त नितान्त आगुसरि सङ्केत-कुञ्जरि गेल।।

राय शेखर वचने अभिसर किये से विषिति विधार ॥

A pada of māna and kalahāntaritā by Govindadās:

आन्धल प्रेम पहिल नहि जानलु सो बहुबल्लभ कान। आदर-साधे बाद करिता सञे अहनिशि जलत पराण

गोविन्ददास कहइ सित भामिनि कानुवा ऐछनु नेहा।

Now, like divine hero (Nāyaka), divine heroine (Nāyikā) of padāvalī-kīrtana is conceived in two different ways. She (Nāyikā) is mainly conceived as svakīyā and parakīyā. These two are again divided into many phases, mudghā, madhyā, pragalbhā, dhīrā, adhīrā, dhīrādhīrā, dhīrā-pragalbhā, adhirā-pragalbhā, adhirā-pragalbhā, and dhīrādhīrā-pragalbhā. Parakīyā has been recognized by the Vaiṣṇavas as the greatest love towards parama-Nāyaka, Kṛṣṇa. Śrī Chaitanya himself maintained the parakīyā-tattva, whereas Śaṅkaradev of Āssām was svakiyāvādī. Some of the latter Vaiṣṇavas like Jīva-Gosvāmī, and others did not accept this doctrine, as they said that svakīyā par excellence is the greatest tattva. But after Jīva Gosvāmī, the Gauḍiya-Vaiṣṇa-yas mostly established the doctrine of parakīyā, and this has vas mostly established the doctrine of the padāvalī-kīrtana.

Parakîyā is again divided into two, kanyā and paroḍḥā. Dhanyā and other unmarried Vrja maidens, who loved Śrī Dhanyā and other unmarried women were known as Kṛṣṇa, were kanyā, and the married women were known as Kṛṣṇa, The paroḍḥā Gopīs were again divided into three classes, sādhanaparā, devī and nityapriyā. The sādhanaparā Gopīs were divided into two, yauthīkī and ayauthikī. The yauthikī Gopīs were Rādhā, Chandrāvalī, Viśākhā, Lalitā, Śyāmā, Padmā, Tārā, Chitrā, Dhaniṣṭḥā, Bhadrā, Śaivyā, Gopāli, Pālikā, and others. But Rādhā was the greatest nāyikā among all the nityapriyā Gopīs. Rādhā or Rādhikā is known as Vṛndāvaneśyarī. The female attendants (sakhīs) of Rādhā were divided into five classes, and they were sakhī, nityasakhī, priyasakhī, prāṇasakhī, and parama-preṣṭḥā-sakhī. Kṛṣṇadās-Kavirāja des-

cribes the real significances of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa and Gopis, in his Chaitanya-charitāmṛta (madhyalīlā, 8th canto) as,

राधार स्वरूप कृष्ण-प्रेमकरूपलता। सरवीगण इय ताँर पल्लव पुष्प पाता।। कृष्णलीलामृते यदि लताके सिञ्जय। निज सेक हड्ते पल्लवाचे र कोटि सुख हय।

This is also the philosophical conceptions of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa, and the Sakhīs that are adopted in the padāvalī-kīrtana. Kubjā is conceived as the sādhāraṇī-nāyikā of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The central attention of all the nāyikās and sakhīs was concentrated in bringing the complete union (milana) of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

The love between the divine hero (Nāyaka) and divine heroine (Nāyikā) manifests in different ways. Above all, the heroine Rādhā is conceived as the greatest manifestation or incarnation of divine love, beauty and divinity in the padāvalī-kīrtana. Srī Jiva Gosvāmī described Rādhā as the highest manifestation of love and devotion, in his celebrated book, Ujjvalanīlamana The conceptions of the female attendants (sakhīs) and messengers (dūti) of Rādhā are also unique and original in the kīrtana

Many of the Vaiṣṇava savants like Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja Kavi-Karṇapura, Rādhāmohan Ṭḥākur, Ghanaśyāma-Naraharī dās and others accepted the padāvali-kīrtana as śāstric and classical one in their books, Govindalīlāmṛta, Ānanda-vṛndāvana champu, Padāmṛta-sindhu, Saṅgītasāra-saṅgraha, Bhakti-ratnākara Gītachandrodaya, etc. Rādhāmohan Ṭḥākur composed many contemplative compositions (dhyānas) of the rāgas of the padāvalī-kīrtana, and he followed, in this matter, Rāṇā Kumbhā's Saṅgītarāja, and other ancient Sanskrit treatises on music Ghanaśyāma-Narahari said in his Bhaktiratnākara, the authoritative book of the Gaudīya-Vaiṣṇavas:

अनिबद्ध निवद्ध गीतेर भेदद्वये । अनिबद्ध गीत गोकुलादि आलापये ।। अनिबद्ध गीते वर्णन्यास स्बरालाप । आलापे गोकुल कण्ठध्वनि नाशे ताप । आलापे गमक मन्द्र मध्य तार स्वरे । से आलाप शुनिते केवा धेर्यं धरे ॥

From this, it is evident that ālāpa was used in different tempi, before the presentation of the original theme of padāvalī-kīrtana. It is said that tumburā, rabāb, veeņā, and other stringed and musical instruments accompanied kīrtana. Jñānadās described some of them in his abhisāra-pada:

आवेशे सखीर अङ्घे अङ्घ हेलाड्या। पद-आध चले आर पड़े मुरछिया।। रवाब खमक वीणा सुमिल करिया। वृन्दावने प्रवेशिल जय जय दिया।

Though Jñānadās did not describe it in connection with padāvalī-kīrtana, yet the stanzas suggest the use of musical instruments in the Vaiṣṇava-gītis.

Some are of the opinion that the structures of the ragas, used in kirtana, seem to be pure and original than those of the modern modified ones. But, though their ancient forms are obsolete now, yet they can be recognized by those, described oosolotin Kavi-Lochana's Rāgataranginī and Hṛdaya-nārāyaṇa's Hṛdayakautuka, written in the sixteenth century A.D. As for example, gurjarī was previously recognized as the rāga of the gaurī-samsgurjur or gauri-mela, the tonal structure of which was similar to modern bhairava: 'sa ri ga ma pa dha ni'. Vasanta was known as the raga of the gauri-samsthana, and its present tonal form is similar to that of bhairava. Hṛdaya-nārāyaṇa described vasanta as 'sa ma, sa ni sa, ni dha pa ma ga ri sa'. In this way, we can easily find out the tonal forms of all the ragas, used in padāvalī-kīrtana. These recognized forms of the rāgas were also used in Kavi Jayadeva's Gitagovinda, and they have been discussed before. From the collections of the padāvali-kīrtana, we find the following $r\bar{a}gas$ which were mostly used in $k\bar{\imath}rtana$: kāmoda, śrī, dhānasī or dhānaśrī, gāndhāra or gāndhārī, todī, mangala, vasanta, sūhai, bhātiyāri, rāmakiri or rāmakelī, vibhāsa, mallāra, kalyāņī, māyūra or māyurī, pāhidā or pāhādī, gaurī, pātamanjari, gurjari, tirothā-dhānaśri, gaudi, bhupāli, āhīri, vihāga, vihangda, kedara, bhairava, bhairavi, śubhaga, vibhasa-lalita, etc. We also find in the padāvalīs the names of yathārāga or tathārāga, karunā or karuna-rāga, kau-rāga, which were mostly prevalent in Bengal. But, in fact, karuņā or karuņa is not a rāga, it is a kind of metre (chhanda), and it has been mentioned in Lochana's Rāgataranginī: 'yat padārdhe tu sa bhabet karunā-mālavā-bhidhaḥ'.60 The rāga suhā or suhai has been mentioned in Halāyudha-miśra's Seka-subhodayā. The newly devised regional rāga, tirotha has been adopted from Trhut or Tirhut. It is known by various names like tirothā, tirotā, tirotiyā, or trhutiyā. The nepālī has been adopted from Nepāl, and Nepāl was a centre of Vrajabuli, after the Sena Kings. The raga 'subhaga' has been mentioned in Śubhankara's Sangīta-dāmodara, Narahari's Sangītasāra-samgraha, etc. The māyūra or māyūrī has been mentioned in the Vrhaddharma-purāņa, Sangīta-dāmodara, etc. Some are of the opinion that yathā or tathā rāga is the diminutive form of the ancient jāti or jātirāga. But this view is untenable, as the word 'yathāraga' connotes the idea that the singers or musicologists have freedom to select any of the suitable ragas.

The tālas, as used in padāvalī-kīrtana are numerous. More than two hundred tālas were used in kīrtana. The names of some of the tālas are: yati, rūţaka, japa, vṛhatjapa, daśakuśī, chota-daśakuśī, vaḍa-daśkuśī, madhyama-daśakuśī, teota, jhampa or jhampā jayamangala, duṭḥukī, āḍā-duṭḥukī, chota-duṭḥukī, dāśa-pede or dānspede, maṇṭḥaka, prati-maṇṭḥaka, kandarpa, ekatālī, vaḍa-ekatālī, pata, madhura, śekhara, nanandana, dhaḍā, aṣṭḥa, ādi, vijayānanda, sama, chandraśekhara, dhruva, lophā, nandana, utsāha, etc. In every tāla there are paraṇa, mātana, etc.

It is said that 108 kinds of tālas were used in the gaderhāti school of kīrtana, and these have been mentioned in the Śrī-Padāmṛta-mādhurī, compiled by Late Navadvīp Chandra Vraja-vāsī and Rāi Bāhādur Khagendra Nāth Mitra. These 108 kinds of tālas are mentioned in the ancient Sanskrit treatises on music. The 108 tālas are

^{60.} यत् पदार्थे तु स भवेत करुणा-मालबाभिधः।

 Vaḍa-daśakuśī;
 Viṣama-daśakuśī;
 Madhyamadaśakuśī; 4. Chota-daśakuśī; 5. Kātā-daśakuśī; 6. Virāmaādā-daśakuśī; 7. Vada-samatāla; 8. Madhyama-samatāla; 9. Yota-samatāla; 10. Kātā-samatāla; 11. Chota-samatāla; 12. Mürcchanā of samatāla; 13. Pākachatā; 14. Śruti; 15. Pota; 16. Dharana; 17. Ādā-dharana-tāla; 18. Kātāpotatāla; 19. Karņāta; 20. Mālati; 21. Chota-rūpaka; 22. Madhyama-rūpaka; 23. Vada-rūpaka; 24. Vasama-pañchatāla; 25. Madhyama-pañchatāla; 26. Pañchama-sowārī; 27. Vadachutātāla; 28. Visama-chutā; 29. Ādā-chutā; 30. Chotachutā; 31. Vada-teota; 32. Madhyama-teota; 33. Teorā; 34. Tioti; 35. Vada-dharātāla (dhadā?); 36. Madhyama-dharātāla; 37. Kātātāla; 38. Vada-ekatāla; 39. Madhyama-ekatāla; 40. Chota-ekatāla; 41. Kātā-ekatāla; 42. Vada-śaśīśekhara; 43. Madhyama-śaśiśekhara; 44. Chota-śaśiśekhara; 45. Vada-dānspāhidā; 46. Madhyama-dānspāhidā; 47. Chotavaņa (danspāhidā; 48. Ādā-dānspāhidā; 49. Vrhat-japatāla; 50. Madhyama-japatāla; 51. Chota-japatāla; 52. Āḍā-japatāla; Mauriala; 54. Parimāņa-tāla; 55. Yati-tāla; 56. Vada-53. Chota-jhāmptāla; 58. Vaḍa-doṭḥukī; 59. Madhyama-doțhuki; 60. Chota-doțhuki; 61. Āḍā-doţhuki; 63. Vada-veeravikrama; 63. Chota-veeravikrama; 64. Vadaoz. vada-ādatāla; 65. Chota-ādatāla; 66. Vada-kāvālī; 67. Chotaagatala , 68. Dhruvatāla ; 69. Natašekhara-tāla ; 70. Nandanatāla; 71. Chañchuputa-tāla; 72. Maņṭḥaka-tāla; 73. Vaḍadhāmāli; 74. Madhyama-dhāmāli; 75. Chota-dhāmāli; 76. Niskāraka (Nis-sāruka?)-tāla; 77. Chandraśekhara-tāla; 78. Kandarpa-tāla; 79. Pratichañchuputa-tāla; 80. Champakatāla; 81. Vadasi (Aşta-tāla 32 chāpada); 82. Triputi-tāla; 83. Brahma-tāla; 84. Rudra-tāla; 85. Nata-nārāyaṇa-tāla; 86. Vijayānanda-tāla; 87. Thumri; 88. Lophā; 89. Gamakatāla; 90. Gargatāla; 91. Daśamakṣara-tāla; 92. Gopālatāla (used in Rāsa-nṛtta of Śrī Kṛṣṇa); 93. Viṣama-sankata-tāla (used in nṛtta of Śrī Rādhā); 94. Nṛttatāla (of Lalitā); 95. Nṛttatāla (of Viśākhā); 96. Nṛtta-tāla (of Champakalatā); 97. Vāndhavatāla (in the nrtta of Tungavidyā); 98. Jhamapaka-tāla (in the

nṛtta of Indurekhā); 99. Mandasmita-tāla (in the nṛtta of Suchitrā); 100. Vāndi-tāla (in the nṛtta of Rangadevī); 101. Chakka-tāla (in the nṛtta of Sudevī); 102. Vikata-tāla (in the dance of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa); 103. Nṛtta-tāla (of the Gopīs in the Rāsamaņdala); 104. Sankaratāla (of Nātarāja-Mahādeva); 105. Lāsya-tāla (of Pārvatī); 106. Jhumura-tāla; 107. Khemtā (of Kāhārvā); 108. Jhuj-jhuti-tāla.

Among them some of their time-units or matras may be mentioned as,

(1) chhotadaśakośi is of 7 mātrās, madhyama-daśakośi is of 7 X 2=14 mātrās, and vada-dašakoši is of 7 X 2 X 2=28 mātrās; (2) Teoti is of 7 mātrās, and (3) Teota is of 7 × 2=14 mātrās; (4) chho ta-lophā is of 6 mātrās, (5) lophā is of 6 mātrās, (6) vadalophā is of 6 X 2=12 mātrās; (7) dothuki is of 14 mātrās, and (8) chota-dothuki is of 14 mātrās, (9) chota-dusapyāri is of 4 mātrās, (10) dāsapyāri is of 4 X 2=8 mātrās; (11) ekatāli is of 14 mātrās; (12) Jhāmptāla is of 10 mātrās; (13) dharā or dhadā is of 16 mātrās; (14) chhota-rūpaka is of 6 mātrās; (15) vadarūpaka is of 6 X 2=12 mātrās; (16) chota-ekatāli is of 14 mātrās, and (17) ekatāli is of 14 mātrās.

În Subhankara's Sangita-damodara 101 talas have been mentioned : 'एकाधिक शते ताले पष्टिमु ल्यताला इमे'। Subhankara said that 60 out of 101 tālas are prominent. Sārangadeva described 120 deśi-tālas in the Sangīta-Ratnākara (6th chapter). Ghanaśyāma Narahari-dāsa followed Sangīta-dāmodara, and said:

तालं चच्चत्पुट-चाचपुटादि-प्रधानम् ।

Now, let us illustrate some portion of a pada-kīrtana, from एकाधिक-शत-तालं सर्वत्र प्रमाणम् ॥ Śrī Haridāsa Kar's Kirtana-svaralipi (Vol. I). The author of the composition (pada) is Govindadas. The tāla has been used

as lophā, consisting of 6 mātrās (0 0 0/0 0 0). song, along with the notation, runs thus,

(सखी) चिकन काला गलाय माला बाजन नुपुर पाय। (तार) चड़ार फुले भ्रमरा बुले

तेरछ नयने चाय।।

कालिन्दी-कुले कि पेखनु सखी
छाड़िया नागर काण।
घर मो याइते नारिनु सखी
थाकुल करिल प्राण॥ etc.

o II धना सन धप गो० ०० ००

EVOLUTION OF DHAP-KIRTANA

Sometimes it is said that dhap-kirtana was designed and propagated by Madhusudan Kinnar or Madhu-kan, but that is not correct, as dhap-kirtana was propagated by Rüpchand Adhikāry, who was an inhabitant of Beldāngā, in Murśidābād. Rüpchānd was born in 1229 B.S. corresponding to 1722 A.D. approximately. He learnt and cultured bāulgāna and afterwards innovated the new type of dhap-kirtana on the structures of bāul, pānchālī, and pada-kīrtana. After Rūpchānd, the name of Madhusūdan Kinnar or Madhu-kān can be mentioned, because Madhu-kān really popularised dḥap-kīrtana among the common as well as the cultured people of the then society. It is said that dḥap-kīrtana gradually developed with the materials of bāul-gāna which were then prevalent in West Bengal before the advent of Śrī Chaitanya. So it will not be unwise to estimate dḥap-kīrtana as an admixture of both classical and folk music.

Approximately in 1220 B.S. i.e. in 1813 A.D. Madhusūdan Kinnar was born in the village of Ulasī in the Jessore district, and died at the age of 55 in 1868, in Kāśimbāzār. He was not sufficiently educated, so he took up the life of the Natas who used to sing different devotional themes along with dances like the Wandering Bards of the Epic period. From the history of Bengal we know that the Natas like the Patuās used to earn money by singing different types of folk-songs along with folk-dances. Late Satīś Chandra Mitra mentioned in his History of Jessore and Khulnā that the Natas were known as 'Kinnar', and, therefore, 'Kinnar' was the title of Madhusūdan because of his profession in music with dance. Madhusūdan because of his profession in music with dance. Madhusūdan Kinnar was commonly known as Madhu-kān as has been said before ('Kān' being an abbreviation of the word 'Kinnar').

Though Madhusūdan was not educated, yet he was possessed of literary talent like the Kaviwālās of different villages of Bengal, who used to compose songs extempore, with different themes of Rāma-Sītā or Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā, and Late Satīś Chandra Mitra wrote that like Dāsarathi Rāy and Gobinda Adhikāry, Madhusūdan used to sing Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana with dance in different villages. His extempore compositions of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa themes with new tunes made him famous all over the West Bengal.

Late Satīś Bābu further wrote that as Madhusūdan Dutta, who lived by the side of the Kapotākṣī river, so Madhusūdan Kinnar, who lived on the bank of the Betrabatī river, used to

compose many new and novel tunes of dhap-kīrtana which were known as pānchālī at that time. But it should be remembered that kīrtana and pānchālī were different in their forms and renderings, though some elements of folk tunes were present in both of them. But it is a fact that dhap-kīrtana was commonly known to the people as pānchālī, though pānchālī can be recognised as the forerunner of dhap-kīrtana.

Madhusudan's father's name was Ananda Kinnar. Some say that his father's name was Tilakchandra Kinnar. The word 'Kinnar' probably evolved from the name of the Gandharvatype of the semi-divine people, called Kinnar who, like the Gandharvas, were very fond of music and dance, and Bharata mentioned it in his Nātyašāstra. Madhusūdan learned the deśi-type of dhap-kīrtana from Rādhāmohan-Bāul. It is said that Rādhāmohan was a famous exponent of the bāulgāna. So it may be taken that Madhusudan first learned from him the baul, and then also propagated the new type of desi-dhapkīrtana with the admixture of the bāul. Some are of the opinion that when Madhusudan lived sometimes in Dacca (in Fast Bengal and now in Banglades), he learnt kheyāl-type of classical music from the Ustads, Chhota Khān and Bada Khān, the then noted musicians of Dacca. But we do not find any element of classical kheyāl in the rendering of the type of dhap-kīrtana, devised by Madhu Kān.

Madhusūdan Kinnar composed different plots like different pālās or the Mahājana-padāvalī-kīrtana, and so we find different plots (pālās) of brajalīlā like māthur, prabhās, kalanka-bhaījana, akrur-samvād, etc. in his dhap-kīrtana. It is said that Madhusūdan was invited every year in the palace of Rānī Svarnamayee of Kāsimbāzār in the time of Rās-ceremony. While mentioning in an article the method of display of dhap-kīrtana, Pānchkari Dey wrote that the main singer (of dhap-kīrtana) used to play all the characters of the plots (pālās) alone, and so the singer used to relate or mention the whole plot of the theme before presenting it before the audience, and where short discourses in the form of questions and answers occurred,

the main singer used to relate them in the form of dialogue, along with different tunes and gestures and postures of the hands and heads. This type of suggestive and tuneful dhapkīrtana was very much appreciated in Bengal in the 19th-20th century. at the late of the population to the first the grade of the ar

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

DEVELOPMENT OF RHYTHM AND TEMPO

There is an organized and harmonized system behind the gigantic phenomena of the universe, and everything in it, the sun, the moon, the stars, and satellites are unceasingly working through an ordered system, and with a motive Everything phenomenal is ruled by the inevitable law of cause and sequence (kārya-kārana-samvandha), and this law is again guided by a synthetic and universal law, which is known as the cosmic law or divine, Energy. The rhythm and tempo are the inherent categories of that cosmic energy or Nature, which is called by the philosophers of India, as prakrti, prajnā, kundalinī, kāmakalā, mahāmāyā, or the Mother Kālī. Rhythm and tempo are but one and the same organized dynamic force, that animates and regulates the sportive play of Mahākālī, who creates, sustains, and destroys everything of the changing phenomena. Kaviguru Rabindranāth defined rhythm in some different way, when he said: 'Rhythm is not merely in some measured blending of words, but in a significant adjustment of ideas, in a music of thought produced by a subtle principle of distribution, which is not primarily logical but evidential'. 'In perfect rhythm', he further stated, 'the art-form becomes like the stars which in their seeming stillness are never still, like a motionless flame that is nothing but movement. A great picture is always speaking, but news from a newspaper, even of some tragic happening, is still-born. Some news may be a mere commonplace in the obscurity of a journal; but give it a proper rhythm and it will never cease to shine. That is art'.

A 'rhythm' connotes the idea of an ordered and a measured motion (gati) that give an idea of a complete harmonious restriction or system of time, whereas 'tempo' connotes that of time-unit, in the sense of pace or duration of speed. But how the

conceptions of rhythm and tempo came into being? Some are of the opinion that in the primitive days men and women used to sing and dance irregularly, clapping their hands, moving their feets, and shaking their heads or limbs of the bodies. Their irregular movements of the hands, legs and heads or limbs of the bodies were gradually regulated and balanced with senses of restriction of pace and speed, and they at last gave rise to concrete ideas of rhythm and tempo. In Sanskrit, these are known as 'chhanda' and 'laya'. Both have their common origin and basic ground in space and time, which is known as the prime factor of creation i.e. projection of the world-appearance. Samuel Alexander called ground space-time, and not space and time, and space-time is the matrix or substratum of the primal norm of the projection. It is said in the Rgveda that there was no vibration or movement in the beginning ('tadejati tannaijati' * *), and eternal calmness reigned supreme with unbroken silence. Gradually movement came into being in the form of rhythmic vibrations. The vibrations were organized and balanced, and the manifold creation or projection was designed in a systematic form which may be called the 'rhythm'. The word 'tapah' of the Upanişad was no other than the heat-energy or will-power of the divine primordial Energy. Potential divine Energy or Isvara was alone before the projection of the phenomenon, and He willed to be many ('eko'ham vahu syām'), and that will is the cause of the world-manifestation. Therefore the world of appearance came into being in the form of rhythm. That rhythm was continuous and eternal, and the sun, moon, stars, and all other satellites of the solar system also observe the rhythmic movement. of God, their exist the subtle entitles

Philosophical Conceptions of Rhythm and Tempo

Rhythm is included in the time's side, and, therefore, it is considered as the intellectual side of music, whereas melody as its sensuous side. Edward Macdowell said that rhythm denotes a thought and there is will as well as purpose behind rhythm,

and its vital part is intention and power, and it is an act and it acts or plays the role of eternal succession of time.

Rhythm connotes the ideas of $t\bar{a}la$, or beating of time. It has been said before that the word $t\bar{a}la$ came into being from the word tala or karatala i.e. palms of the hands. In primitive time, the simple-hearted savage peoples used to sing and dance and keep time or measure of time by the clapping of hands, and it seems that from the clapping of hands i.e. $karat\bar{a}li$, the word $t\bar{a}la$ evolved.

We know that time is considered as superior to space, as space is produced out of time, or it can be said that two units of time (or moment) give rise to the idea of pace or space. Samuel Alexander said that there neither is time without space, nor space without time, and so time and space are co-existent. Time in itself is not perceivable, but for its parts or divisions like $kal\bar{a}$, $k\bar{a}_{\bar{s}}th\bar{a}$, $neme_{\bar{s}}a$, muhurta, etc., it is perceived as material objects. Besides, space, in its very nature is temporal, and time, spatial.

In the Atharva-veda (AV. XIX. 53.12), kāla or time is conceived as a horse with seven bridles. The sun is also known as saptāšva. The aśva or horse is no other than the rays of the sun. So the conception of time is connected with the sun, and it is a fact that we get the idea of time (morning, midday, evening) from the sun. In the Ahirbudhnya-samhitā, one of the texts of the Pancharatra literature, kāla or time is mentioned with guna (quality) and niyati (destinity). Dr. Otto Schrader described them (kāla, guņa, and niyati) in his Introduction to the Ahirbudhnya-Samhita (published from the Adyar, Madras). While describing the philosophy, as contained in the above Samhitā, Dr. S. N. Dāsgupta wrote that in the energy (šakti) of God, their exist the subtle entities of guṇa and kāla. Through the operation of the supreme energy or will of God (Visnusamkalpa-choditah) there springs up from time-energy (kālasakti) the subtle Destinity (niyati), which represents the universal ordering element (sarva-niyāmakah).1 Similarly, in

^{1.} Vide, History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. III, p. 45.

the Saiva philosophy, thirty-six categories like kāla, kalā, niyati, etc. have been conceived for the function of the process of evolution. Kāla and guņa exist in the womb of Sakti or Prakṛti. This Prakṛti is the primordial Energy which gives rise to the idea of eternal kāla or time as well as of deśa or space. Prof. Alexander called Space-Time as the Deity or God who is the cause and eternal matrix of the world-process. Regarding desa or ākāśa, which gives rise to space of the temporal units, Dr. Dāsgupta said that it is associated with the quality of sabda or sound, and gives room for all things. Nyāya philosophy said that sabda is the quality of ākāsa. Akāša is thus to be regarded as unoccupied or empty space which is supposed to be associated with the quality of sound.2

In fact, the twin aspect of time is space which gives rise the conception of laya or tempo. The abstract space is an absolute reality, which is known as the Mahākāla. Mahākāla becomes Kāli or Divine Energy when she assumes the dance of dynamicity. Dynamic Kāli or Energy manifests Herself as aynamics time-units on the breast of the measureless space which is static. This static ākāśa or space is conceived as Mahākāla Siva. Therefore Mahākāla and Kāli—space and time form the world of eternity.

Further we find that distinction in time such as moment etc. happens due to various adjuncts of time, and our conception of moment etc. depends on some action. Kant made time the form of intuition. He made it the subjective condition and manner of perception of things, both inner and outer.3 In Kant's language, space and time can be said to be the forms of sensibility. "Space is the form or sensibility, as external, time, the form, both as internal and external." In fact, time and space form the matrix of the appearance of the and the contract of the story of the story is the story is the story is a story in the story is the story in the story is the story in the story ind

^{2.} Ibid, p. 48.

^{3.} Vide, Dr. K. K. Mandal: A Comparative Study of the Concepts of Space and Time in Indian Thought (Varanasi, 1968), p. 87.

universe, and they control and conduct the things and materials of the world. Vedānta admitted the fact that $k\bar{a}la$ and dik (time and space) are the background of the cosmic order. In music, time and space—rhythm and tempo play an important role for creating a systematic order and also for controlling and beautifying the arts of irtva, gita and $v\bar{a}dya$. In fact, rhythm and tempo—time and temporal space-unit create a standard for measuring the unmeasurable eternal length and breadth of the manifestation of the entire art. Besides, there are grades of manifestation of rhythm and tempo, which are known as slow (vilambita), medium (madhya) and rapid (druta), and these grades or motions (gatis) create different psychological influences in the minds of both the artists and the audieencs. The slow motions of rhythm and tempo create calmness and balanced attitude of the mind.

Rhythm and Tempo in European Music

It has been said before that rhythm is generally recognised from the time side of music distinct from pitch side, and Prof. Percy A. Scholes admitted it. It takes in beats, accents, measures or bars, grouping of notes into beats, grouping of beats into measures, grouping of measures into phrases, and so forth. Prof. Scholes said that the twentiethcentury composers have often, likewise, a great many changes of measure-valves, and hence of time-measures in their music, whether vocal or instrumental. Such devices suggest an effort after the effect of prose rhythms as distinct from that of verse rhythms. He was of the opinion that in rhythm, the sense of accuracy and judgement is necessary to arrange and combine the notes or series of notes with its regular and periodic time-measures (tālas). It is also necessary for rise and fall of the intervals of notes of the melody in music.

D. F. Tovey said that there are two ancient elements in musical rhythm, and they are body-rhythm and speech-rhythm. In modern European music, these two elements are in equi-

poise, though apart from music they are incompatible. There is also a dance-rhythm which can be known as the musical body-rhythm. The classical European music uses only binary and ternary times. Sir Donald Tovey is of the opinion that freedom is as necessary in music as it is in speech; but fine playing, whether in obvious tempo rubato or in apparent strictness, bases this freedom on the superlative accuracy of good rhythmic notation. The rhythms of Greek tragedy, interpreted syllabically, are suggestive, and so are many Oriental rhythms. But they are not body-rhythms.

Mr. W. R. Anderson was right when he said that rhythm is not something imposed on music. Whether there be or be not words, the rhythm is inherent in the music. It is not only its leg, but its life. And that life, like ours, is often subtle and complex.

In fact, the basic life of music, dance, and drumming depends upon rhythm which may be known as the time-pattern. In upon rhythm comprehends the placing of note over against music, rhythm comprehends the placing of note over against music, rhythm comprehends the placing of note over against music, rhythm comprehends the placing of note over against music, sentence with sentence, until the whole piece against phrase, sentence with sentence, until the whole piece against phrase, sentence with sentence, until the whole piece is complete. Prof. Anderson said that many people can keep is complete. Prof. Anderson said that many people can keep is complete. And time in both music and drumming, but fewer have rhythm. And time in both music and drumming, by beating or keeping the guided by words, and in drumming, by beating or keeping the time.

Similarly 'tempo' is known as the time-signature which tells us nothing about the pace of music. The sense of tempo is a larger aspect of the body-rhythm, and in classical tempo is a larger aspect of the body-rhythm, and in classical tempo is a larger aspect of the body-rhythm, and in classical tempo an music, it is very steady. A fundamental law of all musical rhythm, said Sir Tovey, is that a burrying or sluckening of tempo has no power to alter the rhythmic organization.

Prof. Scholes said tempo usually means speed. 'Upon the

Prof. Scholes said tempo usually means speed. Open the choice of the best speed the effect of the music greatly depends'. Every composition may be said to have its correct tempo, but this is not capable of being minutely fixed without

scope of variation, as to some exact circumstantial factors enter, such as the character of the instrument used..... "The general tempo of a composition", said Dr. Scholes, "has, since the seventeenth century, been usually indicated by the composer by the use of a series of Italian terms accepted by musicians to all countries..... The Italians use the word Tempo not only in the above sense but also in the derived sense of 'Movement' (in a sonata, symphony, etc.). A great number of expressions include Tempo in the first sense, e.g. A Tempo, 'in time' after rall, accel, etc., and these which follow". helighten to said that the fee

Rhythm and Tempo in Indian Music

In Vedic music, rhythm was observed in composition (sāhitya) with the help of metres (chhanda). Tunes were added to the res or stanzas, and the res were constituted out of the letters, arranged in different metres. The rc-stanzas, with tunes, were the sāmagānas. Sāyaṇa said : 'sāma-sabda-vāchyasya gānasya svarūpamrgak saresu krustādibhih saptabhih' etc.4 In the Rk-bhāsyabhūmikā, three kinds of stobhas are mentioned, and they are varnastobha, pada-stobha, and vākhya-stobha. Gāthās were prevalent in the Vedic period. Gāthās were the prescribed mantrams or verses: 'vihitā mantra-višesā gāthāḥ'. Both in the stotra or gāthāgāna and sāmagāna, rhythm and tempo were used to regulate the letters and tunes of the composition of music. The Brāhmana literature stated: 'nocchairgeyam na valavad geyamiti rathantara-dharmah. Tasmādubhaya-dharmā vyavatisthante iti.'6 The Sāmavidhāna-Brāhmana stated that the sāmans were possessed of standard stated that the sāmans were possessed of stanzas or verses, constructed out of the metres like vrhati, jagatī, gāyatrī, tristubha. etc. As these metres were balanced by tones and tunes, they were known as the sāmans.

In the Rk-prātīšākhya, syllables or varņas are known as the

^{4.} सामश्च्यवाच्यस्य गानस्य स्वस्तपमृगक्षरेषु क ष्टादिधिः सप्ति । * * । 5. विहिता मन्त्रविशेषा गाथाः।

G. नोचचैगेंयं न बलबद गेयमिति रथण्तर धर्मः। तस्मादभयधर्मा व्यवतिष्ठण्ते इति ।

sound or svara. The sound or svara has been divided into different time-units like hrasva, dirgha and pluta. The hrasva sound lasts for only one mātrā or one unit of time, the dirgha, for two mālrās or two units of time, and the pluta, for three mātrās or three units of time. The sound or svara is also known as the letter or akṣara: 'svaro'kṣaramityuktam.'7 For this reason, the authors of the Prātiśākhyas designate the register-notes (sthāna-svaras), udātta, anudātta and svarita as letters : 'udāttaschānudāttascha svaritascha saink sepatah svarāstrayo veditavyāh.'8 In the Vedic literature, these are also known as the notes. Saunaka said in the Rk-prātiśākhya that all the musical notes, both vaidika and laukika, were represented in three different ways, bass, circumflex, and acute, i.e., mandra, madhya, and Three different modes were adopted for three kinds of pronunciation, and they were slow, medium and fast, i.e. vilambita, madhya, and druta. The 48th aphorism of the Rkvitamous, runs thus: 'mātrā-viśeṣah prativrtyupaiti'.9 That is, pratisery vitta the number of mātrā is increased. The mātrā in every vitta the number of mātrā is increased. in a measuring unit, which connotes the idea of division of time (kṣaṇa-bheda). The old Sanskrit verses of musical pieces were of two kinds, varna-vrtta and mātrā-vrtta, i e., one was determined by the syllable-unit, and other by time-unit. Both these units were known as chanda and laya, i.e. rhythm Saunaka dealt with the topics of chhanda in connection with and tempo.

correct reading of the Vedas. They were gayatri, uşnika, anuştupa, vrhatī, pankti, triştupa, and jagatī. Besides them, there were other metres like atijagatī, šakkarī, sātipurvā, dhṛli, atidhrti, prakrti, ākrti, nikrti, and samkrti, etc. Simhabhupāla said that these metres or chhandas were used in the sāmagāna

^{7.} स्वरोडझरमिस्युक्तम्।

B. उदात्तशानुदात्तश्च स्वश्तिश्च संक्षेपतः स्वशास्त्रयो वेदित्व्याः।

^{9.} मःत्राविशेषः पतिवृत्युपैति ।

^{10.} Vide the Appendix in the end of this chapter.

and Vedic recitations.11 In the Rk-prātisākhya, we find mention of the mātrās or measuring units of time, and they were similar to the tonalities and pitch-values of the sounds of the birds and other animals: 'chāsastu vadate mātrām dvimātrām vāyaso'bravīt', etc.12 Sometimes the letters of the Vedic metres used to play the role of mātrās (time-beats) and those mātrās or time-beats were accompanied by the recitation or pronunciation of the verses of the samans. Five kinds of accents were used in the sāman-chants, and Dr. Felber said that they were: (1) stress on accentuation; (2) the interval, its arrangement, and choice; (3) the intensity of voice; (4) enrichment through ornamentation; and (5) mutual tone-ratio between the different musical pitches. Musical pitches were lowered or heightened or balanced as the notes in the verses used to signify. The numbers upon the words of the verses used to indicate temper and tensity of the sounds like low, medium, and high. Some are of the opinion that the figures upon the words of the verses were indications of the murcchanas or ascending-descending notes of the samans. Sometimes the numbers used to indicate the downward series of tones. The metrical relations of the verses or sāmans were manifested in the forms of rhythm as well as tempo.

The word 'tempo' or laya simultaneously indicates the idea of time-beats or tāla, as one is interlinked with or counterpart of the other. In fact, the tempo is realized in the continuity and different cadences or measured movements of the timebeats or tāla. Sārangadeva (early thirteenth century) said that music, both vocal and instrumental, drumming and dancing are based on time-measure or tāla: 'gītam vādyam tathā nṛtyam yatastāle pralisthitam'. 13 In the age of the great epics, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, and Harivamsa, the artists and musicologists were fully acquainted with different accents, letters, mātrās and

The specific females are as a second property of 11. Vide the commentary 'Sudhākara by Simhabhupāla.

^{12.} च।पस्तु वदते मात्राम् द्विमात्राम् वायसोऽत्रवीत्, etc.

^{13.} गीतं वाद्यं तथा नृत्यं यतस्ताले प्रतिष्ठितम्।

tālas: 'kalā-mātrā-viśe şajīnā', etc.14 The compilor of the Mahābhārata, while explaining the process of beating of the time, said: 'pāṇi-tāla-satālaischa śamyā-tālaih samaistathā'.15 From this it is evident that time was strictly maintained with the help of palms. The word 'tāla' connotes the idea of measure of the specified time. Simhabhupāla clarified it by saying : 'gītādeḥ mitir-māṇam vidadhat kurvan kālah tāla ityuchyate'.16 Time or $k\bar{a}la$ is the temporal unit or $t\bar{a}la$. The time also presupposes the idea of space i.e. desa. The great scientist Einstein admitted the co-relation of time and space in his Theory of Relativity. He said like the English philosopher, Samuel Alexander that Space-Time is the primal stuff, of which all the phenomenal things are made, though space is three dimensional and time is one dimensional. As time cannot be conceived without space, so kāla or tāla cannot be thought of as separate from desa, because time is extended to the space, and space bears its existence in time.

Though the idealist philosophers consider time as an inherent category of the mind, yet they admit its objective manifestacategory of the Eddington said that our "knowledge of spacerelations is indirect, like nearly all our knowledge of the exterrelations is matter of inference and interpretation of the nai works which reach us through our sense-organs. We nave similar has between the events in the world outside us; but in addition we have direct experience of the time-relations that we ourselves are traversing—a knowledge of time, not coming through external sense-organs, but taking a short cut into our consciousness. When I close my eyes and retreat into my inner mind, I feel myself enduring, I do not feel myself extensive. It is this feeling of time as affecting ourselves and not merely

^{15.} पाणिताल-सतालैश्च शम्यातालै: समैस्तथा।

^{16.} गीतादेः मितिमाणं विद्धत् कुर्वण कालः ताल इत्युच्यते ।

as existing in the relations of external events which is so peculiarly characteristic of it; space on the other hand is always appreciated as something external". Further he said elsewhere that whatever "may be time de jure, the Astronomer Royal's time is time de facto. His time permeates every corner of physics. It stands in no need of logical defence; it is in the much stronger position of a vested interest. It has been woven into the structure of the classical physical scheme" (Vide The Nature of the Physical World). In music, time has been considered as real, and though it has been recognized as eternal, yet it has been divided into minute units, as kalā, kāṣṭḥā for practical use. The authors on music have made use of those units for the measured and well-balanced rendering of tones and tunes.

Muni Bharata (second century A.D.) dealt with the problem of time-units in the Nātyaśāstra in connection with the dramatic music (nālya-gīti), gāndharva or dhruvā. He said that he, who is devoid of the sense of tāla, can neither be called a singer nor a drummer, because the art of drama is based on timing or tāla. Now, what do we mean by a tāla? Bharata said that tāla is a definite measure of time, and gāna or music rests on tāla: 'gānam tālena dhāryate' ?17 The means and materials of tāla are yati, pāņi, and laya: 'anga-bhūtā hi tālasya yati-pānilayāh smṛtāh'. 18 The laya or tempo means the difference of one unit of time (kalā) from another: 'kalā-kālāntara-kṛtam sa layo nāma samjūitam'. 19 The laya or tempo is divided into fast, medium and slow speeds, i.e. druta, madhya, and vilamvita. The determining principle of notes and timing (svara and tāla) is had. is pada. The pada is composed of letters (aksaras). It can be said to be the verse (sāhitya) of music.

The rhythm and tempo have elaborately been discussed by

^{17.} गानं तालेन धार्यते।

^{18.} अञ्चभता हि तालस्य वति-पाणि-लवाः समृताः ।

^{19.} कला-कालाम्तरकृतं स लयो नाम संज्ञितम्।

Bharata in the 29th chapter of the Natyaśāstra, and Śārangadeva in the 6th chapter of the Sangita-Ratnakara. Bharata mentioned the names of the tālas, as āvāpa, nişkrāma, vikṣepa, praveśaka, śamyā, sannipāta, parivarta, etc. He divided the tāla into two main heads, beat without sound, and beat with sound, i.e. niḥśabda and sa-śabda (नि:शब्द and सम्रब्द). The tālas like āvāpa, niṣkrāma, vikṣepa, and pravešaka are known as beats without sound i e. nihsabda, while dhruva, sannipāta etc. as sa-śabda-vādya. The tālas are strictly measured by laya or tempo. Bharata said that laya or tempo is determined by the speeds like slow, medium, and fast, i.e. vilamvita, madhya, and druta. Or it can be said that the forms of speed in time-measure or tāla are known as laya or tempo. Simhabhupāla clarified the passage by saying: 'taih mitā paricchinnah kālastāla ityuchyate'.20 Sārangadeva divided tāla into mārga and deśi. The movements or beats of the mārga-tāla have already been explained. He or beat without sound (नि:शब्द) as kalā, and kalā is divided into tālas like āvāpā, etc. The mātrā is also known as divided The kalā is of three kinds, chitra, vārtika, and dakṣiṇa. Some admit dhruva as the fourth kalā. Kalā, kāṣṭhā, nimeṣa, and other time-units are called as tāla-kalā. Like vidārī or different units of melody, yati and prakarana are included in the units of tala. But, strictly speaking, yati is a kind of method of application of laya or tempo. It is of three kinds, samā, srotogatā and gopucchā. (a) The samā-yati possesses three units of tempo, i.e. one in the beginning, one in the middle, and the last one in the end. (b) The srotogalā contains three units of tempo, the first one is slow or vilamvita, the middle one is medium or madhya, and the last one is fast or druta. (c) The gopucchā-yati consists of three units of tempo, and in the beginning of the giti or song, the tempo is fast, in the middle it is medium and in the end it is slow. Some are of the opinion that in gopuccha, the first tempo is fast or druta,

^{20,} तैः मिता परिच्छितः कालस्ताल इत्युच्यते ।

the middle one is slow or vilamvita, and the last one is also slow or vilamvita.

Śārangadeva said that the śuddha-jātis or jatirāga-gānas like dhruvās and rectified regional gitis like māgadhī, ardha-māgadhī, etc. were practised with different kinds of tālas. These tālas were composed of different units of time-beats (kalās or mārgas). The gītis or songs were also followed by vittis and gatis. The presentations of those gitis differed with the alteration of tempo or laya. It has already been said that not only Śārangadeva, but all the later musicologists also divided tāla into two main heads, mārga and dešī. The mārga-tālas are dhruva, chitra, vārtika, dak şiņa etc. They have mentioned another two kinds of mārga tāla like chatuḥrasra and tryasra (चतुःस्त्र and त्रयस), which are known as chacchatputa and chāchaputa. All these tālas are represented in three different modes, slow, medium and fast, i.e. vilamvita, madhya, and druta. They are determined by yatis like samā, srotogatā, and gopucchā. A yati is no other than a method of application of tempo or laya: 'laya-pravrtti-niyamo yatih'.21 The mārga-tālas are composed of grahas like sama, atīta, and anāgata. The word 'graha' connotes the idea of gati or speed. The grahas, sama, etc. are also known as samapāņi, avapāņi, and uparipāņi. These grahas are determined by the tempi like vilamvita, madhya, and druta.

Sārangadeva and his followers were of the opinion that the deśi-tālas are 120 in number: 'vimsatya-bhyadhikam śatam'. Others admit 224, or 108 dzśi-tālas. The deśi-tālas are ādi, dvitīyaka, trtīya, chaturthaka, pañchama, darpaṇa, ratilīla, simhalīla, chaturmukha, chatustāla, yati, tribhangī, rāja-vidyādhara, śrīkīrti, karaṇayati, lalitā, etc. The mode, nature, and characteristics of the tālas were determined by different merus like guru-meru, druta-meru, pluta-meru, samyoga-meru, etc. Besides, the prastāras or khaṇḍa-prastāras were used for their detailed classification. The modern tālas of both Hindusthānī and Carnātic system evolved from the ancient śāstric tālas.

^{21.} लय-प्रवृत्ति-नियमो यतिः।

The modern tālas of Hindusthānī system are kāwālī, āddhākāwālī, dhimā, patatāla, samapadīyat, kārphā or chepkā, thumrī, āḍāṭḥekā, mudhyamāna, ekatāla, khemtā, bhartanga, sādrā, āḍākhemtā, khayrā, chautāla, ādā-chautāla, jhāmptāla, sūlatāla or surphānk, yat, dhāmāra, pestā, theorā, rūpaka, rūpakdā, panchamsoyārī, phordosta, jhampaka, veerpancha, etc. Besides them, we find rudratāla, brahmatāla, brahmayoga, laksmītāla, mohanatāla, śaktitāla, gandakītāla, rāsatāla, śankaratāla, karālamancha, dobāhāra, khāmsā, etc. Some of the rhythmical patterns of tālas can be illustrated thus,

4+4+4+4=16 Tritāla

2+2+2+2+2+2=12Chautāla 2. 4 - 4 - 4

3+2+2+3+2+2=143. (a) Dhāmāra

do : 5+2+3+4=14 (b)

=(1+2+3+4+5+5/6+7)

8+9+10/11+12+13+14)

: 2+2+2+2+2+2+2=14Ādī-chautāla

2+3+2+3=10Jhāmptāla

5. 2+2+2+2+2=10Sūlatāla

6. 3+4+3+4=14Dipachandi

7. 3+4+3+4=14Jhumrā

8. 4+4+4+4=16 Tilavādā

(a) 2+2+2+2+2+2=129. Ekatāla 10.

(b) 3+3+3+3=12

3+2+2=7Tivrā 11.

3+3=6 Dādrā 12.

3+2+2=713. Rūpaka

4+4+4+3=15 Gajajhampā 14.

6+6+2+3=17Śikharatāla 15.

: 2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2=1816. Mattatāla

3+2+2=7 ml +2 main habitlemen ? 17. Teorā

18. Pañchamasowārī : 3+3+4+4+4+4+4+4=30

(with 5 strokes)

19. Brahmatāla : 2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2+2

2+2+2=28 (10 strokes).

Pandit Kāśīnāth Appaya-Tulsī tried to trace some similarity between the modern talas and the ancient ones, in his Abhinavatālamanjarī. As for example, he compares ādā-chautāla with chatustāla, as described by Śārangadeva in his Sangīta-Ratnākara. Appaya-Tulsī said : 'रत्नाकर इरितोस्ति च यथाभिध्यश्रतुस्तालकः'। Śāraňgadeva said that chatustāla consists of 1 guru+3 druta=31 matras : 'चतुस्तानो गुरो: परे त्रयो द्रुताः इति'। Chatustala and ada-chautāla may be compared to daša-kušī, as used in the padāvalīkīrtana, to some extent. Regarding jhumrā, Appaya-Tulsī said: 'अन्ये रत्नाकरें उसी सुमतिभिरुदितोस्त्यन्तव क्रीब्सङ्गः', i.e. the ancient name of jhumrā is krīdasanga. Jhumrā is of 14 mātrās, and it is also knows as teota. Some are of the opinion that teota has been derived from trivata, which is again derived from triputa. Regarding dhāmāra, Appaya-Tulsī said : 'सोऽयं चण्ड इति स्वयं निगदित: श्रीशाह देवेनाहि', i.e. the ancient name of dhāmāra is chanda. Sarangadeva described chanda as : 'द्रुतत्रयं लघुद्दन्द्व' चण्डताले वभाषिरे', which means 00011. Dhāmāra is sometimes known as vrhattāla. As regards chautāla or chatustāla, Appaya-Tulsī said: 'सवारिहिति विश्वतोस्ति दशक्ष यस्मिन् कलाः। स एव गजभाम्प इत्यभिहितोस्ति रत्नाकरे, i.e. the sāstric and ancient name of chautāla is gajaihampa. As regards rūpaka, Appaya-Tulsī mentioned : 'शास्त्र सने कथितस्त्तीय इति निःशङ्कं न रत्नाकरें, i.e. Niḥśańka or Śārańgadeva called rūpaka as tṛtīya-tāla, which is composed of 7 mātrās. But we have seen that all estimates of Appaya-Tulsi were not acceptable, as the names and time-measures (mātrās) of the talas differ from those of the other masters.

The South Indian system of music adopted a scheme of 35 tālas, which were developed by Purandaradāsa. It is said that only 35 tālas were determined by time-units of laghu, drutam and anudrutam. From the scheme of 35 tālas, we know that main tālas are 7 in number, and they each contain 5 constituent angas or varieties, resulting $7 \times 5 = 35 \ t\bar{a}las$. The

angas are anudrutam, drutam, guru, plutam and kākapādam. The five angas are composed of different units or kalās, which are again constituted out of the letters (akṣaras), in relation to time-units or mātrās, and they are:

- (a) Anudrutam consists of 1 letter and 1/4 and time-unit.
- (b) Drutam consists of 2 letters and ½ time-unit.
- (c) Guru consists of 8 letters and 2 time-units.
- (d) Plutam consists of 12 letters and 3 time-units.
- (e) Kākapādam consists of 16 letters and 4 time-units.

Some admit six angas, including laghu, having 4 letters and 1 time unit or mātrā. The time-values are observed by the beats (ghāta or āghāta) and silence (khāli or phānk). Their values, being constant, have no variation or alteration. But the akṣarakalā of each tāla can easily be altered. The tālas are again classified under the head of different jātis like tisra, misra, khanḍt, sankīrṇa, and chatusra. They can be illustrated as,

- I. Tisra jāti consists of three time-units (mātrās). Different time-beats (tālas), having three, six, nine, twelve and twenty-four time-units, belong to the tisra-jāti.
- II. Misra-jāti is the combination of the jātis like chatusra and tisra. It consists of seven time-units.
- III. Khanda-jāti is consisted of five time-units, and the, time-beats, with five, ten, and fifteen time-units belong to the khanda-jāti.
- IV. Sankīrņa-jāti comprises of nine time-units. The timebeats, with nine, eighteen and thirty-six time-units belong to the sankīrņa-jāti.
 - V. Chatusra-jāti consists of four time-units and time-beats, with four, eight, sixteen and thirty-two time-units belong to the chatusra-jāti.

There are 35 alamkāras for illustrating 35 tālas. The nomenclature of the tālas are based on katapayādi and bhuta-sankhyās. The main 7 tālas of the South Indian system are dhruva, matya rūpaka, jhampa, triputa, ata, and eka. As for example,

- (a) The dhruva-tāla consists of 4+2+4+4=14 time-units (mātrās), having 4 strokes.
- (b) The matya-tāla consists of 4+2+4=10 time-units, having 3 strokes.
 - (c) The rūpaka-tāla consists of 2+4=6 time-units, having 2 strokes.
- (d) The jhampa-tāla consists of 4+1+2=7 time-units, having 3 strokes.
 - (e) The triputa-tāla consists of 4+2+2=8 time-units, having 3 strokes.
 - (f) The ata-tāla consists of 4+4+2+2=12 time-units, having 4 strokes.
 - (g) The eka-tāla consists of 4 time-units, having only one stroke.

It should be remembered that values of all the time-units (mātrās) are considered as light or laghu, and the number of the units can be changed into more time-beats or tālas. All the main tālas and their varieties possess definite letter-units or akşarakalās for a circle or āvarta. From the detailed list of the South Indian tālas it appears that though most of them differ in their names, yet their system of mātrā and rhythmical accent are almost similar to those of the tālas current in ancient times. Besides, nine navasandhi-tālas are still current in South India. Some are of the opinion that the nine nava-sandhi-tālas were practised in sacred rituals and ceremonies, and also before the deities of the holy shrines and the temples. The champutāla and its varieties, and the deśādī and madhyamādi tālas of the current in South India. Prof. Sambamoorthy is of the opinion that the players of the mrdangams in the South, when accompanying the musicians, do not merely beat the svara-laghu, but 'provides a cross-rhythmical accompaniment, based on the style, movement and rhythmical construction of the pieces rendered'.

Rhythmical harmony or rhythmical construction is vital for the tāla systems of all the civilized countries of the world.

The tāla system of the classical padāvalī-kīrtana of Bengal is worth-mentioning in this connection. We have seen that number of tālas, both simple and intricate, is innumerable in the padāvalī-kīrtana, as rhythmical movements, kalās and layas of the padāvalī-kīrtana are different from those of the classical Hindusthānī and Carnātic music to some extent. In the Sangīta-dāmodara, Sangīta-nārāyaṇa, Sangīta-ratnāvalī, Sangīta-sāra-sangraha, and other music treatises of Bengal and Orissā, many of the tālas of classical music and padāvalī-kīrtana have been discussed, along with other classical forms.²²

22. Śarangadeva mentioned 120 deśi tālas, with their divisions of metres. He said:

आदितालो दिवीयश्च तृतीयोऽथ तृत्रथेवः।। पञ्जमो निःशङ्कलीलो दर्पणः सिंहविक्रमः। रतिलील. सिंहलीलः कन्दर्भी बीरविक्रमः ॥ रङ श्रीरङ्गचच्चयौ प्रत्यंगो यतिसग्रकः। राजचुबामणी रंगद्योतो रंगप्रदीपकः ।। राजतालो वर्णतालः सिंहविक्रीइतो जयः। बनमाली हंसनादः सिंहनादः कुडुक्ककः ॥ तरंगतीलः शरभलीलः स्यात् सिंहनन्दनः । निभंगिर गाभरणो मण्ठकः को किलाप्रियः ॥ ति:सारुको राजविद्याधरश्च जयमंगलः। मिल्लकामोद्विजयानन्दौ क्रीइ।जयश्रियौ ॥ मकरन्दः कीर्तितालः श्रीकीर्तिः प्रतितालकः । विजयो विनद्रमाली च समनन्दनमण्ठिकाः॥ हीपकोदीक्षणी हेन्द्री विषमी वर्णमण्डिका। अभिनन्दोऽनंगनान्दीमल्लकञ्जालकन्द्रकाः ॥ एकताली च कमदश्रवस्ताली च डोम्ब्नी। अभंगो बायवङ्कोलो वसन्तो लघुशेखरः ॥ प्रतापशेखरो भान्या गजभान्यश्चतुम् खः। मदनः प्रतिमण्ठश्च पार्वतीलोचनो रतिः।। लीलाकरणयत्याख्योश्च च लक्ष्मीशो ललितिष्रयः।। श्रीनन्दनश्च जनको वर्धनो रागवर्धनः। पट्तालश्चान्तरक्रीडा हंसीतसवविली विताः॥

Now, what is the psychological significance and value of rhythm and tempo in Indian music? What is the prime object of using the music materials like rhythm and tempo? Everything subjective is more fundamental than the objective one. Well has it been said by E. B. Havell, in connection with the beauty of Fine Art: 'Beauty, * * * is subjective, not objective. It is not inherent in form or matter; it belongs only to spirit, and can only be apprehended by spiritual vision'. Really spirit can be appreciated by spirit. The emotive feeling and spiritual experience are absolutely personal and subjective. Rhythm and tempo are primarily the projections of one's own personality. The objective perception of rhythm and tempo involves the whole organism, and it requires primarily five fundamental capacities. Dr. Seashore said in the Psychology of Music that 'the first two of these are the sense of time and the sense of intensity, corresponding respectively to the two attributes of sound, which constitute the sensory media of rhythm. The third and fourth are auditory imagery and motor imagery, that is, the capacity of reviving vividly in representation the auditory experience and motor attitudes respectively. The fifth is a motor impulse for rhythm, an instinctive tendency, chiefly unconscious and largely organic'.

All mental life works eternally in a rhythmical process, and even the objective material things of the universe observe the rhythmical law consciously or unconsciously, propelled by some unknown inscrutable power or energy. According to psychology and philosophy of music, rhythm and tempo are

गनो वर्णयतिः सिंहः करणः सारसस्तथा।
चण्डतालश्चन्द्रकलालयस्कन्दोऽङ्कतालिकाः।।
धता द्वन्दमुकुन्दौ च कुबिन्दश्च कलध्वनिः।
गोरीसरस्वतीकण्ठभरणो भग्नसं झकः।।
तालो राजमगाङ्गश्च राजमातण्डसं झकः।
निःशङ्कः शांग देवश्चेत्येते सो इलस्नुना।।
देशीतालाः समादिष्टाः विंशत्यभ्यधिकं शतम्।

not only the essential parts of music, but are also vital to our life. They create a complete balance and symmetry in the vibrations or movements of tones and tunes of music, and thus produce a resonance of them in our emotional being, and bestow upon us celestial peace and tranquillity. Everything mental and material bears a spiritual significance and value. Music is best of all arts, and though its inherent ingredients or parts, rhythm and tempo are apparently woven into the warp and woof of contingent phenomenal time and space, yet essentially they transcend the limits of time and space, and make themselves the best means for bringing unto us the transcendental harmony and peace.²³

^{23.} Cf. Tālamanjarī by Apā or Appaya-Tulsī, which has been dealt with the new-devisement of the tālas.

Appendix A.

It has been discussed that $k\bar{a}la$ is also conceived as the ground or substratum of motion (gati). The Siddhānta-siromoņi of Bhāṣkara mentioned about the following measures of time ($k\bar{a}la$): truti, tātparya, nimeṣa, kāṣṭḥā, kalā, ghantika, kṣaṇa, etc., Udayana's Kiraṇāvalī¹ and Sridhara's Nyāyakandalī also placed forward the lists of divisions of time as muhūrta, kalā, lava, etc. Sir Brajendranāth Seal elaborately discussed the subject in his monumental book, The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus. Sir Seal also discussed about the Vedāntic view of division of time.²

—कीरणावली

क्षणद्वयं लवः प्रोक्तो निमेषस्तु लवद्वयम्। अष्टादशनिमेषस्तु काष्टा त्रिशस्तु ताः कला। त्रिशत्कला मुहूर्तः स्यात त्रिशदारात्रणी एते।।

^{2.} Vide pp. 85-92.

Appendix B

Let us quote 'Space as Extension and Space as Position', discussed in *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*: (1915) by Sir Brajendranāth Seal:

Space as Extension and Space as Position : Space must be distinguished as Desa (locus, or rather extension) and Dik (relative position). Space (Dik) as the totality of position, or as an order of co-existent points, is wholly relative to the understanding, like order in Time, being constructed on the basis of relations of position intuited by our empirical (or relative) consciousness. But there is this difference between Spaceorder and Time-order: there is no unit of Space as position (Dik), though we may conceive a unit of Time, viz. the moment (প্রা), regarded as the unit of change in the phenomenal or (भणा)। series ('परमाणुकिया - गुणपरिणामस्य क्षणत्वच चनात' - योगवार्तिक), causar 51, Pada III). Spatial position (Dik) results only from the different relations in which the all-pervasive Akāśa stands to the various finite (or bounded) objects. On the other hand, Space is extension or locus of a finite body, Deśa (locus), has an ultimate unit, being analysable into the infinitesimal nas an extensive quantity inherent in the Reals (Guṇas) of Prakṛti. ट्राट्याउर । ('गुणप्रकृतेरणुपरिमाणः'-योगवातिक । एतेन नित्या दिगपि अप्रामाणिकी आख्याता सामान्यतो ('गुणप्रकृष्ट्वाराभावात । * * * काल श्र * * नेव्यते) * * * The empirical intuition then intuits the phenomenal series of transformations of Energy in the Time-order, and in so doing imports the relation of cause and effect into the course of Nature * * * (योगवार्तिक, Sutra 51, Pada III).—Ibid, pp. 21-22.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF VEENĀ

Musical instruments of India have been divided into four heads: (1) tata or stringed instruments, (2) vitata or instruments covered with skin, (3) ghana or instruments that give resonance by the concussion of two solid bodies, and (4) susira or wind instruments. All the instruments, not only of India, but also of all the countries of the world, can be included in these four classes or categories.

The veenā is one of the most ancient stringed instruments that India has produced. The natural tendency of men is to enjoy relaxation in the midst their thousand toilsome and monotonous domestic duties and affairs, and they try to find out the best means of their enjoyment and solace. This tendency also prevailed among the people in the most ancient times. The primitive men were also fond of artistic creation, though they were very simple and crude. They drew inspiration from the aweful beauty of Nature around them, and thus used to elevate and animate their thoughts and emotive feelings.

In the beginning of civilization in Vedic India, men and women used to worship the sky (Varuna) and the sun (Mitra) or the sun in the blue sky (Mitra-Varuna). With the advancement of civilization and culture primitive men became familiar

^{1.} In the Rgvedic time, Varuna or sky was conceived as the ocean of milk i.e. kşiroda-samudra, and Mitra or Mithra was conceived as the glowing sun floating on it. In fact, the early Rgvedic peoples used to think Varuna as the kārana-salila or causal creative waters, from which the manifold world-appearance was created or projected. In the Purānas, we find the Nārāyaṇa took His seat on the causal ocean, and Lakṣmī, the Prakṛti, attended Him. It is a symbolical idea of creation (sṛṣṭi).

with the use of fire, and they regarded it as a diminutive form, nay, the prototype of the glowing sun, the celestial god. They used the fire for various domestic purposes. When they became familiar with the use of iron, they began to hunt the wild animals, and used to fight their enemies with the help of bows and arrows. Besides other implements, the bow was also used to serve the purpose of signalling the advent of the enemy or any other danger, like the blazing flames of the fire. used to produce the reverberating grave sounds, by pulling the gut strings of the bows (jyā-śabda or dhanustankāra). That sound may be regarded as the source of their inspiration for designing and constructing the musical instruments of the primitive people. The curvature of the bow supplied the idea of the method of constructing the body of their crude veenā and the connecting gut strings. The primitive shape of the veenā was curved like the body of the bow. It was like the body of the ancient lyres and harps, to some extent. The primitive men made the strings of the veenā out of the intestines of wild animals, fastened them to the two extremes of its bent body, and used to play it, by plucking the strings with fingers. It seems that in the beginning, a single gut string was used to produce a mono sweet sound. Gradually additions and alterations were made to improve the structure of the veenā, and to increase the number of its sounds, together with their tonal qualities. The primitive men sometimes connected two horizontal bars of bamboo or wood, fastened a gut string to the two ends of the bars, thus forming a triangle. This type resembled the ancient Georgia, Caucasus, and Finland types of lyre, to some extent.

But the veenā of India is neither a lyre nor a harp, though we commonly transtale it into English as 'lyre'. It may be included in the Western lyre class of stringed instrument. Regarding lyre, Prof. Panum said that lyre type of stringed instrument was first found in Western Asia, in the land lying between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Then it made its way to the Nile country and to Greece, where it was quickly

adopted as the national instrument, and where it reached the zenith of its artistic career. The earliest evidence of the existence of a stringed instrument of the lyre family is to be found in Homer (ninth century B.C.), who sometimes called it phorminx, sometimes kitaris, but evidently he meant the identical instrument in both the cases. 'From a philological point of view', said Prof. Panum, 'phorminx is considered to be of Hellenic, and kitaris of the Asiatic origin'. But phorminx alias kitaris has been described far more elaborately in the Greek legend of Hermes, than the lyre in Homer. As the theme of the Homeric epic originated in Asia Minor, it is natural to presume that the lyre, mentioned by the poet, was an instrument of Asiatic origin, while the oldest literary sources mentioned only the names phorminx and kitaris. These two new terms came into fashion during the seventh century B.C.-lyre and kitara. In the bas-relief of the British Museum, representations of Assyrian horizontal Angle-Harps are found. They resemble the Egyptian bow-harp, and the frame-harp of the Middle Ages, that was used to be carried in an upright position, was plucked by the fingers from both sides.

In the 4000 B.C., we find a bow-harp-Eyptian instrument, which is similar to the bow-shaped veenā of India and other Asiatic countries. In the mural-paintings at Pompeii, we come across a bow-shaped harp, which was known as the Angle-Harp, and it was similar to Indian veenā. We find also stringed instruments with seven and nine strings, which were similar to chitra and vipanchi veenas, as described by Bharata in his Nātyašāstra. Dr. Oskar Seffert said in the Dictionary of Classical Antiquities (1891) that from Strabo's statement we come to know that lyre with seven strings was in practice in the time of Terpender (about 675 or 672 B.C.). He added three more strings to the original lyre of four strings, and increased the compass of the scale from the two conjunct tetrachords of the seven-stringed lyre to a full octave, without increasing the number of the strings. This he did by adding one more string at the upper end of the scale, and taking away the next string

but one (vide also Aristotle: *Problems*, XIX. 32). Prof. Panum said that Plutarch is of the opinion that when Phynis showed his nine-string *kitara* in Sparta for the first time, the Ephor Ekprepes, without hesitation, cut away two of the strings, saying: 'Do not ill-treat music, I beg of you'.

We find, therefore, some transitional, i.e. evolutional stages in the formation of the developed veenā from the crude bow. The successive stages can generally be divided into three: (1) the bow, with a long gut string; (2) The bow-instrument, with a finished rod of bamboo or wood, and plucked cord; and (3) The instrument, with gourd, finished rod and different chords or strings. (1) The first one produced a grave sound, reverberating far and near, when pulled by the fingers, at the time of discharge of the arrows. The grave sound served as signal for imminent danger. (2) The second one worked as an element of tension, for creating vibrations for agreeable sound. The cords were struck by a plectrum, or a piece of bamboo or wood, instead of an arrow. (3) The third one worked as an element of length for measure. strings were attached from one end to the other, and they produced different sounds, when pulled by the fingers, or plucked by the plectrum. Further the third one gradually underwent many changes, with more complex construction and richness in volume of the sound, emanating therefrom. In fact, the bow is the origin of all kinds of stringed instruments.

Now it will be interesting to know how the word 'veen' or 'veenā' was coined for the most ancient stringed instrument of 'ndia. In the Rkveda, we do not get directly any word like India. In the Rkveda, we do not get directly any word like veenā, respresenting a stringed instrument. The great German indologist, Max Muller was of the same opinion, when he said: 'There is no authority for veenā, meaning either lyre or flute in the Vedas'. But, instead of the term 'veenā', we get the word 'vāṇa' (बाण) and 'kṣoṇa' (झोण) in the Rkveda: धमंतो बाण word 'vāṇa' (बाण) and 'kṣoṇa' (झोण) in the Rkveda: धमंतो बाण महतः सुदानवो मदे सोमस्य रण्यानि चिक्तरे (RK. 1.85.10); युवं प्रयावाय रुशतीमदत्त महः सोणस्याप्रियणा कण्याय (RK. 1.118.7); माता यन्मतुर्य धस्य पञ्चांभि वाणस्य सप्रधातुरिजनः (RK. 10.32.4). Besides a reference of the

musical instrument 'pinga' is also found in it, which means, said R. C. Dutt, the 'bow-instrument', or dhanuryantram (धनुर्यन्त्रम्), the forerunner of the violin family. In the RK. 8.69.9, we find,

अव स्वराति गर्गरो गोधा परि-सनिष्वणत्। विंगा परि चनिष्कददिंद्राय ब्रह्मोचतम्।।

Gargara and godhā are also the musical instruments, and godhā has been described in the latter Vedic literature as veeṇā i.e. godhā-veeṇā,—the veeṇā with strings of gut of the godhā: 'गोधाबीणाका: काण्डबीणाकाश्च परन्यो बाद्यन्ति'—कात्यायनश्चीतस्त्र १३१५०. However, the musical instrument vāṇa has also been mentioned in the Atharvaveda (10.2.27), where it is said: 'को बाणम को नृतो दधी'।

Now, regarding the verse : 'धमंती वाणं' etc. (1.85.10), the commentator Sāyaṇa said : 'ते मरुतः वाणं शतसंख्याभस्तन्त्रीभियु कं बीणाविशेष धमन्ते वाद्यन्तः', and regarding the verse : 'युवां श्यावाय' etc. (1.118.7), he said : 'कण्वाय क्षोणस्य क्षोणः शब्दकारिवीणाविशेषः महामहतः क्षोणस्य श्रवः शब्द अध्यक्षतम उपसोविज्ञानार्थं अधिकं कुरुतम ।' Again on commenting on the words: 'वाणस्य सप्तधातुरिज्जनः' (RK. 10.32.4), Sāyaṇa observed that 'sapta-dhātu' means 'seven tones' as procured from the hundred strings of the vāṇa (veeṇā). Kātyāyana used this word vāṇa, with a hundred strings : 'वाणेन शतन्तुना', though in his time, the vāna was known as the modified kātyāyanaveenā (with hundred strings), and an instrument is also prevalent even in these days in Kāśmir in the name of 'santur', with hundred helping or side strings. said that the strings of the vāṇa-veeṇā were made of the muñjā-grass, twisted with care. Āchārya Karka mentioned about the vāṇa, when commenting in the verse : 'वाणेन शततन्तुना' (13.32) 'वाणो महति वोणा, शतं तन्तवो यस्यासौ शततन्तुः, तेनोपाकरणम ।'

Now, from all these references, we can conclude that $v\bar{a}na$ was the most ancient type of stringed instrument, and that different kinds of stringed instruments were designed after it, in later days. Again from the study of the oldest literature of the world, the Vedas, $Br\bar{a}hmanas$, and $S\bar{u}tras$, we may conclude like Mr. J. F. Rowbotham that in most ancient times,

music passed mainly through three stages of development, each characterized by a separate class of instrument. The instruments of percussion or drum like dundubhi, bhūmi-dundubhi, panava, etc. supposed to be the oldest, while the instruments of wind or flute (venu or vamsa) come next in order of time and civilization, and stringed instruments like vāna, kṣona, etc. (of the veenā or lyre or harp class) are the latest invention of every separate race.

The word 'veena' seems to have been derived from its forerunner, vāna, which means 'to sound' ('van'-to sound or to move+ghan). Max Muller translated vana as the human voice'. The term 'vāna' (बाज:) has been derived from the root 'van' (बन) which means 'sound' (शब्दः) or 'speed' (गतिः). Pāṇini said : 'वण शब्दे' (भा: गः) or 'वण गतौ' (अ: गः) + धज् (३।३।८१). प्राश्द). The term 'veena' (बीजा) has been derived as 'व्येति प्राप्तार स्वरोऽस्याम्' i.e. 'बी गत्यादिषु'—'बी'-धातु रास्नसान्सा इत्यादिना (उ: ३।११ जानपुर्वे न-प्रत्ययः। निवातने सिद्धत्वात् 'न' स्थाने 'ण' + स्त्री-आएं।' That is, 'van' (वण) धातुः (of vāṇa) conveys the idea of both is, 'sound' (शब्द) and musical tone (स्वरः) and at same time 'speed' (गितः), and vyeti (च्येति) of veenā conveys the idea of 'sound' (शन्द स्वरवर्ग), and from these derivations we get the term 'sound' (शब्द स्वरवा /, and to both, vāṇa and veeṇā. Again 'sound' or 'tone' (शब्द: स्वरवां) involved in it the 'speed' or motion (गित्:) as the particles of sound and those of speed or motion have their origin in the vibrations of atoms and electrons. The Taittiriyasamhitā (6.1.4.1) stated : 'बद्ति या (वाक्) बोणायाम', and the Aitareyasammu (जाराजा प्राप्त प्रमुखन एवमसौ शब्दवती तद्मवती।' Thus we find that both the words vāṇa and veenā express the idea of 'sound' that pervades i.e. exerts influence upon the minds of men, and it is most probable that the term 'veenā' has been derived from 'vāṇa'.

In Sumer, we come across a word 'pan' or 'ban', which stood for 'bow' instrument, and later perhaps for 'harp' also. Dr. Farmer said that we do not know its later name, by which it was known in Mesopotamia, although its last descen-

dants were Pahlavi von, and the Arabic wann. 'At Gizeh we espy the identical bow-harp predicated in Mesopotamia as the ban or pan, but in a form much nearer its day of puberty.² At this early date, when it was known in Egypt as the ben, bent or bin, bint (cf. Coptic boini, oyoini), it had a narrow and perfectly cylindrical crescent-shaped body with six strings*.'

The veenā with straight form and having a single bamboo or wooden body, evolved later on, and this required ability and intellect in playing. It is a natural law that the crude and simple type is always replaced by the developed one. In the Sangita-samayasāra, Pārśvadeva (7th-11th century A.D.) said: 'bhajate sarvaveenānām ekatantrī-pradhānatah', i.e. though there are various types of veenā, yet the veenā with a single string (ekatantrī) is the prime one. It is reasonable to think that the veenā with a single string (ekatantrī) is very ancient. And it has been mentioned before that this type of veenā required, more developed mental preparation and skill for freting and adjusting the sound-board. So we may say that rise to all sorts of veenā, with one string (ekatantrī-veenā) gives

In the prehistoric Indus Valley civilization, we find the remains of veenā, along with different crude drums, crude type of pipes, and a bronze dancing girl, which go back to 3500-3000 B.C. or 4000-3500 B.C. It is well-known that the prehistoric Indus Valley people developed a unique culture and ascended the height of civilization, as was possible in that shadowy past, but veenā originated long before the prehistoric civilization and culture. Prof. Panum, on the evidence of Egyptian mural paintings, said that the date of the bow-shaped in India go to prove that veenā antedated the instrument, depicted in the painting. Prof. Panum further mentioned that in the 4th century B.C., Aristotle described a type of

^{2.} Vide S. Prajnananda: Music of the Nations (Delhi, 1973).

lyre, in which strings were fastened to the top and the bottom. This type reminds us of the Indian type of single stringed ekatantrī-veeṇā, which evolved after the primitive form of the bow-shaped lute.

Marguerite Milward said in her Artists in Unknown India (1948) that she found among the primitive Chenchu people in the Hyderabad State, musical instrument called kinera, 'with three gourds as sounding boards and two strings; peacock feathers stuck to the open bamboo ends'. It is a kind of veenā with two strings, which is called the dvitantri. She said that the Chenchus always carry a bow and arrow in self-defence, and to shoot small birds and game for food'. It may be taken for granted that though their kinera was a more developed kind of veenā than the bow type one, being possessed of ten frets and three gourds, it was all the same evolved from the Bow. Miss Milward forwarded some illustrations of Saora Guitar (Kullaten Rajan), with a gourd and a wooden handle. It contains two keys and five frets, and two gut strings are attached to the keys. Again it may be of interest to note that another musical instrument (Gogged Rajan) exactly resembles our ekatantri-veenā, but it contains two strings with two nuts, a sound-board, covered with skin, and a wooden bridge on the middle of the sound board. This veenā is played with a bow, and we may safely conclude that the Bow is the forerunner of the veenā and all kinds of stringed instruments.

Henry Balfour mentioned in The Natural History of the Musical Bow (1899) that the hunter's bow is the source or forerunner of all stringed instruments. W. D. Hambly said in his Tribal Dancing (1926) that Mr. Henry Balfour clearly demonstrated the evolution of the musical bow from the occasional adaptation of the hunter's bow, and collected a series of illustrations, explaining stages of development. He shows the transition to stage where the bow is only a musical instrument, and he maps out its distribution in Africa, North India, Cambodia, Borneo, Timor, New Guinea, the Solomons, the New Hebrides, Hawaii, the Marquesas, Mexico,

Brazil, and Patagonia. Mr. Hambly was of the opinion that a most ingenious stringed instrument is found among the Ba Thonga, 'who attach a calabash or sound-box to the lower extremity of a bow. The performer holds the bow at the lower third of a string with a little stick, and here it may be noted that the usual method is to tap, and not stroke, the strings of the primitive musical instrument'. 'The Bongo of East Africa make such a bow of string tightly stretched and struck by a slender strip of split bamboo. The soundingboard is not made of a calabash, but resonance is given by placing one end of the bow to the open mouth of the performer, while one hand is left free to tap the string'. Henry Balfour gave many examples of the bow instruments of Southern and Central America, Central India, and Indonesia. The bow instruments were also used by the peoples of ancient Rome and Greece. There are some evidences of the bow, among the aboriginal Bhuiyars, in the Mirzāpur hills and it is known as the darkhun, which is extensively used in ceremonial functions of the Bhuiyars. This type of the bow instrument, may be compared with the kokurai, found in South India. A kind of bow instrument, with a split bamboo comb, is used in the kurma dances of the Dravidians. In the Travancore state, the native Shanars also use a kind of bow instrument. instrument that resembles the ekatantrī-veenā, used in India in folk songs. Henry Balfour was of the opinion that the musical in the state of the songs. musical instrument with monochord is a descendant of the archer's weapon. In Orissā and Chotānāgpur, we find a bow instrument instrument with monochord, which is known as the tuila, used by the IT. used by the Ho-Koles, resembling the gubo, of the native people of South Ac.: Noles, resembling the gubo, of the native people of South Africa. The similar kind of bow instrument, bajah is used by the similar kind of bow instrument, bajah is used by the natives of Orissa, and it is fitted with a string of gut or the natives of Orissa, and it is fitted with a string of gut or metal wire. Prof. Balfour said that 'these instruments, tuila and bajah form an important intermediate link in the developmental chain of the such highly specialized instruments as the veenā of India, * *'. The se-san-laos of Siam, the piah of Laos, and the busoi of Borneo, are also the bow instruments.

Prof. Hortense Panum was of the opinion that the fingerboard instruments were widely used by the civilized peoples of Western Asia: the Sumerians, Hittites, Elamites, Assyrians and Persians, and (from the time of the New Empire) also in Egypt. A. H. Layard said in his Nineveh and Remains (1850) that 'the Assyrians, Like Egyptians, probably had various musical instruments; only two kinds are represented in sculptures—a drum and a sort of triangular harp or lyre, which is held between the left arm and the side, and apparently suspended from the neck.* * The instrument was struck with a plectrum, held in the right hand; the left appears to have been used either to pull the strings, or to produce notes by pressure. Like the Egyptian harp, it had no cross piece between the upright bar and the flat board or base'. Such is also the contention of Bonomi. He said in his Nineveh and Palaces that the royal minstrels played instruments with nine strings, which can be compared to the Nubian harp. But the mural painting actually represents the instrument, having only two strings. It was played with a plectrum or stick by the right hand. Some stringed instruments have been excavathe ruins of Harculaneum and Pompeii, that were burried in 68 A.D. by volcanic eruptions of Visuvius. Most of these instruments were of the lyre and lute types.

From Egypt the slender form of the finger-board instrument may be traced to Greece, and there it was known as the pandoura. But by 'calling comparative science' to his aid and consulting ethnology, the German musical historian, Curt consulting ethnology, the German musical historian, Curt Sachs ('Die Streichbogenfrage; Arch. f. Musikwissenschaft', 1918, I) finally came to the conclusion that 'bowing did not, as was hitherto supposed, indicate a later stage than the plucking method. Even if the monuments did not show any instance of the use of a bow in antiquity, he found in the fact that the most primitive stringed instruments in the world, used by the most primitive peoples of the present day, are consistently played by bowing, whereas the later types are always manipulated by plucking the strings; a proof that the question

of plucking or bowing cannot be answered by chronological or technical evidence, but is a popular psychological problem. Among the primitive Asiatic peoples, such as the mountain and island dwellers of India, who retained their customs, it was and is still the bowing method that took the lead. Not until the Persians eventually came in contact with other nations that were culturally their inferiors, did they become acquainted with the bow. In the same manner, the classical peoples of the Mediterranean appeared in history for the plucking of the strings of their instruments, while the primitive Gothic peoples and chief among them the Germans—introduced themselves as users of the bow.* * During the interchange of cultural ideas between the nations, which took place in the Middle Ages, the national peculiarities of the instruments were gradually levelled, so that the bowed and plucked types, in many cases, changed their mode of playing and, with the co-operation of the luthiers, their nature also. Of the later mediæval plucked instruments, therefore, some appear clearly as descendants of bowed instruments (e.g., the Spanish Vihuela, Chitarra Battente! and Guitar), just as some of the instruments that by their nature were destined to be plucked, (1) the mediæval rebec developed from the originally plucked Moorish rebab, and the oldest types of fiddle; and (2) The German Grossgeige, still traceable in the works of Virdung and Agricola'.3

But in the Works of Virdung and Agricola. But in the Vedic period, we find highly developed mechanical skill in the construction of the veenā in India. As has already been said that in Rk-veda, we come across with the wano mahati veenā, which represents the veenā with hundred strings: nam. Asmin vāne maunjāstantavo yasyāsau satatantuh, tenopākaramityarthah. In the Panshavimsa-brāhmaṇa, it is known as the satatantri-veenā, made up of wood with a gourd, covered by ten strings of munjā or durvā glass were fastened. It was

^{3.} Cf. Panum: Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages (London), pp. 219-220.

played with the help of a bamboo plectrum (kona). The commentator, Sāyaṇa, has mentioned the kṣouṇī-veeṇā in connection with the vana. We also find the mention of the kandaveenā, which was no other than the bamboo flute. Besides these, we find references of the picchorā or piccholā and the audumvarī, made up of udumvara wood. When the Sāmaga-Brāhmiņs and Yajamānas used to sing the sāmagāna before the sacrificial alters, their devoted wives played the godhā and picchorā veenās, along with kānda-veenā, the bamboo flute. The mouth of the gourd of the godhā-veeņā was covered with the skin of the godhā. In connection with the Pañchavimśa-Brāhmaṇa, Dr. Caland said: 'Behind the Choristers * * the wives of the Yajamānas take their seat; each of them has two instruments, a kāṇḍa-veeṇā, and a picchorā; on these they play altogether alternately, first on the kāṇḍa-veeṇā, then on the picchorā. The kāṇḍa-veeṇā is a flute of bamboo, the picchorā, a guitar, which is beaten by means of a plectrum, Laty. IV. 2.5-7, Drāhy. XI. 2.6-8. The Jaim br. (cp. 'Das Jaiminiya-Brāhmana in Auswahl' No. 165) enumerates the following instruments: karkari4, ālābu, vakra, kapišīrṣṇī, aiṣīki, apaghātalikā, (cp. Ap., below), veenā kāśyapī (cp. Ath. S. IV. 37.4: āghātah karkaryāh—'cymbals and lutes', Whiteny). Ap. XXI. 17. 6, 19 names three instruments: apaghātalikā, tambalaveeņā, and piccholā: the second is, according to R. Garbe (see his Introduction to Ap., Vol. III, page VIII) a tamil guitār. Baudh. XVI. 20: 266. 9-10; 267. 9-10 names also three instruments: āghāti, piccholā and karkarīkā, on which cp. the karmāntasūtra (Baudh. XXVI. 17 s.f.): Sānkh. XVII. 8. 12 has: 'ghāta-karkarir-avaghātalikāh kāndaveenāh picchorā iti', read perhaps 'āghātārir-avaghāta', etc.; but the following passage (sūtra 15-17) is rather uncertain'. Again he mentioned it in the Panchavimsā-Brāhmaņa (cp. Jaim, br. II. 45, 418, Kath. XXXIV. 5: 39. 10; TS. VII. 5. 9. 2).—The vāṇa is an instrument of wood,

^{4.} Regarding karkari Sayana said : 'कर्करियंथा कर्करिवेदति कर्करि-वाद्यविशेष: अन्यह्मारूयातचरम्।'

according to Sānkh. consisting of a kind of crate and handle (cross-bar?); it is covered with the skin of a red ox, hairs on the soutide, it has ten holes at its back side, over each of which ten strings are fastened; these strings are manufactured of munija or durba grass. "The strings are touched by the Udgātr by means of a reed of a piece of bamboo (with its leaves) that is bent of itself (not by hand of man): indrenatayā var-indrana)-iṣīkāyā, Jaim. Br., and from this text the word is taken over by Laty. Drāhy.* * Udgātr does not properly play on this instrument, having touched the strings * * with the plectrum, he orders a Brāhmin to play on it"; Drāhy, XI. 1. 1-16; cp. Ap. XXI. 18.9; Sānkh XVII. 3. 1-11'. Dr. A. B. Keith said in the Sanskrit Drama: "Thus at the Mahavrata, maidens dance round the fire as a spell to bring down rain for the crops, and to secure the prosperity of the herds. Before the marriage ceremony is completed (Sānkhyāna-grhyasūtra, I. 11.5) there is dance of matrons whose husbands are still alive, * * and dancers are present who dance to the sound of lute and the flute, dance, music, and song fill the whole day of moving. "MM. Rāmakṛṣṇa-kavi also mentioned in connection with the musical instruments, including veenā, in the Vedic songs, sāmagāna: "* * a careful examination of the Vedic rites and siksās there upon drives one to the irresistable conclusion that the origin of Indian music lay in certain rites where the priest and the performer chant some gāthās alternately, while the wife (Yajamānī) plays on veenā, and the closing of the sacrifice was enjoined with the conduct of a peculiar dance. The kind of veenā, mentioned for the above purpose, is called piccholā, and in another place it is called audumvarī अदिम्बरी that is made of udumvara wood".

In the Aitareya-Brāhmaņa (3.2.5), veeņā has been described in detail. It mentioned two kinds of veenā: daivī and mānuṣī. It was believed that the daivī-veeņā was practised by the devas or bright spirit and the mānuṣī, by the mortal men. The Brāhmaṇa described: 'atha khalviyam daivī-veeṇā bhavati, tadanukṛti-rasau mānuṣī veeṇā bhavati, * lomasena ha sma vai charmaṇā purā

veenā api-dadhati', etc.5 From this we learn that both the veenās were played with the help of the fingers. The gourd was covered with skin with hair ('lomasena charmanā apihitā').6

In the Rāmāyaņa (400 B.C.), Vālmikī described the veeņā, vipañchī, with nine strings, the detailed description of which is found in Bharata's Natyaśastra (2nd century A.D.). Dr. Panum has mentioned Plutarch's remarks that when Phrynis showed the nine stringed kitārā in Sparta for the first time, the Ephor Ekpres cut away two of the strings. From this it is evident that the veenās, with seven and nine strings (chitrā and vipañchi), travelled far to the Middle East, and even to the Western countries, during the time of Plutarch and Homer. Dr. Panum admitted it. He stated: "Homer says of a new type of lyre which came from Asia Minor to Greece, where the tortoise-lyre was kitārā, while the national tortoise-lyre was given another title, the lyre."

Again in the Rāmāyaņa (400 B.C.), veeņā has been referred to as laya and tantri. The veenā played a prominent part in the music performances in Royal Courts and private chambers. It is said that the wandering Bards, Lava and Kuśa used the ekatantri-vzenā in the Rāmāyana-gāna. In the Mahābhārata and the Harivamsa, we find different types of veenās, used by the Kings, Brāhmins, Yādavas, and Sāmagas.

- 5. अभ खिल्वयं देवीबीणा भवति, तदनुकृतिरसौ भवति । यथास्याः शिरः एव-अन् प्राप्त प्रति । यथास्य जिहा एवमनुष्य अम्भरम् । यथास्य जिहा एवमनुष्य वादनम्, मनुष्याः । रारः, वनात्वः वस्तुः । यथास्याः स्वरा एवमनुष्याः स्वराः, यथास्याः यथा अस्यास्तन्त्रया एवमनुष्याः स्वराः, यथास्याः यया अरुपारपार विशेष के प्राप्त हो वेयं शब्दवती तुर्व वती एयमसी शब्दवती तुर्व वती, यथा स्वशं एवमनुष्या स्पर्शाः, यथा हो वेयं शब्दवती तुर्व वती एयमसी शब्दवती तुर्व वती, यथा स्यस रचनुष्ठा । स्वाप्त प्रवास स्थापन स्यापन स्थापन स्यापन स्थापन ह्म व चर्मणा पुरा बीणा अपिद्धति। स यो हैतां देवीं बीणां वेदश्रुतवद्नो भवति, भूमिपाऽस्य कीर्तिर्भवति यत्र कवचार्या वाची भाष=ते विदुरेणं तत्र इति। - ऐतरेय-आरण्यक ३।२।४
 - 6. Besides, we find the mention of
 - क) गोधावोणाकाः काण्डवीणाश्च पत्न्यो बादयन्ति (१०।५०)
 - ख) Achārya Karaka said : गोधाचर्मना नद्धा बीणा गीधाबीणाकाः, काण्डः शर इत्युच्यते, तम्मय्यो बीणाः, ता उभयविधा-वीणाः सर्वाः परन्यो वाद्यन्ति, स्तुभिः सत्तृणस्ता उपयागयन्तीत्वर्थ ।

The Buddhist Jātakas have stated different methods of veeṇā playing. It is interesting to know that in the Jātakas we find references to the practice of solo performances of the veeṇā, independent of vocal music. It was developed to a high degree. The description of the chitrā-veeṇā, with seven strings, is also found in the Guptila-jātaka.

In the Nāradī-sikṣā (first century A.D.), Nārada described

two kinds of veenā, dāravī and gātra:

Dāravī gātra-veḥṇā cha dve veeṇe gānajātiṣu / Sāmikī gātra-veeṇā tu tasyaḥ śṛṇuta lakṣaṇaṃ // Gātra-veeṇā tu sā proktā yasyaṃ gyānti sāmagāḥ /

The gātra-veenā used to be played in the sāmagāna before the sacrificial alter, and the daravi, to the accompaniment of the jātirāgagānas. The jātirāgas have been explained by Bharata, in terms of jāti, in his Nātyaśāstra. In the Rāmāyana, the pure type of seven jātigānas are also mentioned, and from this it is evident that the dāravī type of veenā was prevalent in the pre-Christian era. Nārada explained the method of construction and the process of playing of the veenā in detail in the Siksā. It is said that the gātra-veenā had seven strings, like the chitra type of the veena. It was the practice to place the veenā on the lap or thigh, held by one of the hands, and played with the top of the thumb, and the middle portion of the closed fingers of the other one. The strings were touched with the finger in such a way that the thumb used to remain free from the finger-bases. The Sāmagas⁷ used to play the gātra-veeṇā with different notes, three registers, modes and tempo, according to their knowledge as well as to the directions of their according to their knowledge as well as to the playing of their experienced teachers. At the beginning of the playing of the veenā, the players first uttered the pranava, then the After the savitri or the gayatri-mantram, and finally the vitta. After this, the right hand, with fingers stretched, was placed

^{7.} Sixteen Brāhmaṇas (priests) used to be present in a sacrifice, and some among them were sāmagāyī, and the name of the head priest was Brahmā.

on the base of the strings. Then the strings were plucked by different parts of the fingers, top of the thumb, palm, thumb, attached to the first finger, and the fingers closed and touched with palm.8 These were the processes which were adopted in the production of short, medium or long length of vibrations. In the case of producing short sounds, the strings were touched softly with the topmost part (tila-pramāṇa) of the thumb and half of the upper part of the middle finger, and so on. The body of the player was not allowed to be moved except the lower portion, and that too slightly. construction and the method of playing the gatra-veena were somewhat similar to the harp and lyre of the Western countries.

Bharata described two kinds of veenā in the Nātyasāstra, and they are chitra9 and vipanchi. The chitra type of veena had seven strings, whereas the vipanchi, nine. The chitra was played by the finger, and the vipañchi, by the plectrum (kona).

Bharata said,

Sapta-tantrī bhavecchitrā vipañchī navatantrikā / Vipañchī koņavādyā syāt chitrā chāngulī-vādanā //10 These two types of veenā were used to be played as accompaniments to the gāndharva or mārga type of gītis. Bharata has also mentioned the names of veenās like kacchapī (kasyapī) ghoşakā, etc., in connection with the topics af ātodya like puşkara, etc.

Dr. M. Kṛṣṇamāchāriar said in his History of Classical Sanskrit Literature that the Yamalatantra has also mentioned

about the veenās:

- हस्तौ सुसंयक्तो धाय्यौ जानुभ्यामुपिरिस्थितौ । गुरोरनुकृति कुर्याद् यथाज्ञानमतिर्भवेत् ॥ प्रणवं प्राक्-प्रयुज्जीत व्याहतिस्तद्नन्तरम्। सावित्रीं चानुवचनं ततो वृत्तान्तमारभेत्।। प्रसार्य चाङ्कुलीः सर्वा शोपयेत् स्वरमण्डलम् । न चाङ्कु सीभिरङ्गुष्ठमङ्कुष्ठे नाङ्कु सी: स्पृशेत्।।
- The chitra-veena and the gatra-veena are the forerunners of the modern Sitar.
 - 10. Vide Nātyašāstra (Kāsī ed.), 29.11.

Chaturvidhānām veenanam lakṣaṇam tatri-lakṣṇam / Kinnara-svara-yantrādi-lakṣaṇam mela-lakṣṇam //11

The Yāmalatantra also gave twelve kinds of lakşmaṇas. Besides, the Uddīsamahā-mantrodaya-tantra described different kinds of veeṇā, and they are: tālanilaya, sallari, patana, maṇḍala, bheri-vighna, himila, thuthuka, mithakkthā, damaru, murara, aṅgulis-phota, veeṇā, ālamani, rāvaṇahasta, udyanta, ghoṣāvatī, brahmaka, etc. He said: 'Uddīsamahā-mantrodaya appears to have been a work devoted to the rituals of worship of Siva, under the name of Uddīsa. As usual with such works **, dealing elaborately with musical instruments, 16 in number in 16 separate chapters'.

The Veenātantra has described:

Ekaņovimsam veeņākhya-tantram lakṣa-pramāṇakam / Nāda-brahmānanda-siddhir-yena siddhyati vai nṛṇām //12 MM. Rāmakṛṣṇa-kavi said that the names of the veeṇās have been mentioned in different Purāṇas, Āgamas, and Tantras. Āchārya Abhinavagupta has discussed about veeṇā in Śrī-samhitā. In some of the Yāmalatantras, Pañcharātra and Śakti and Śaiva Tantras, we find descriptions of the veeṇā. MM. Kavi further said: 'Various Purāṇas, Āgamas and Tantras are devoted for Gāndharva. ** Śrī-samhitā is referred to by Abhinava-gupta to treat Gāndharva at length. Regarding Tantras of Saiva, Pañcharātra, Sāktēya and Yāmala, only a portion of Uddišatantra is available, which has 18 chapters on 18 kinds of musical instruments and it perhaps dealt with the whole

11. (a) Vide Ibid, 33.15.

12.

(b) Śārangadeva mentioned in the Sangita-Ratnākara about eleven kinds of Veenā, and they are:

तङ्के दास्त्वेकतन्त्रो स्यान्नकुलश त्रितन्त्रिका। चित्रा वीणा विष्ण्ची च ततः स्यान्मत्तकोविःला।। आलापिनी किन्नरी च पिणाकौसंज्ञिता परा। निःशङ्कवीणेत्यद्याश्च शाङ्कं देष्टेन कीर्तिताः।। एकतोवि शं वीणारुय-तन्त्रं लक्ष्य-प्रमाणकम्। नाद-ब्रह्मानन्द-सिद्धिर्येन सिद्धयति बै नृणाम।। science. Yāmalatantras are 32 in number and several of them of unsual size are devoted to Gāndharva. These works were once available in Banaras in the library of Kavīndrāchārya Sarasvatī and the 32nd Tantra is now extant which gives in 8000 verses, contents of all the then known works in Sanskrit'. 13

Now, the four methods of playing the musical instruments and specially the veenā were developed from the dhātus like samghāta, samavyāya, vistāra and anuvandha. Besides these, there were four other dhātus like vistāra, karaņa, āviddha, and vyanjana (vide NS. 29.81-115). Two kinds of method of playing of the veenā were of heavy or higher (guru) and light or low (laghu) standards. The vipañchī-veenā was extensively used in the gandharva type of dramatic music of the early Christian era. The term 'dhruvā' might have been used to denote the rythmical music or the music with tempo or laya or tāla. Sārangadeva (early thirteenth century A.D.) called it the sakala-vādya, which is different from the nişkala-vādya. The term 'kala' denotes metre, mātrā or time-measure. The sakalavādya or playing of the veeņā with time divisions was considered as important in both dance and drama. Bharata laid stress on the vipañchi-veenā, as it was the best medium of keeping the tempo in music.

As regards the method of playing on the veenā, Bharata said that both the thumbs should touch the strings; the left thumb should rub (piḍana), and the right one should be placed on the palm, faced downwards. The process, by which the string was plucked by the left thumb, was called nişkotitam, that, by which it was touched by the right palm, was known as unmiştam, and when struck by all the fingers, the process went unmiştam, and when struck by all the fingers, the process went by the name of repha. The thumb and the little finger of the right hand, faced downward, used to touch the lower strings. The method of touching thumb, together with the little finger, was known as puṣpam. Ten kinds of method of playing were

^{13.} Vide The Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Reasearch Society, Vol. III, July, 1928, pp. 26-27.

prevalent in Bharata's time (second century A.D.). The process of karana was of five kinds. Bharata said: 'iti daśavidhah prajojya veenāyām vyanjano dhātuh' (29-95), and 'pañchavidho vijñeyo veenā-vādye karaņa-dhātuh' (29-96). Sārangadeva admitted a new dhātu of the veeņā, which was known as nāda. It was produced by plucking or striking of the strings of the veenā. Perfection in the art of playing the veenā has been indicated by Bharata's division of the microtones or srutis, through the medium of two veenās of the same size, chala and achala. Perhaps it was he who for the first time measured the length of the strings of the veenā for determining the microtones, and thus made the position of the veenā unique in the domain of Indian music.

Different types of veenā of different sizes are found in the mural paintings and sculptures existing in various old cavetemples and ancient Buddhist topes and stūpas in different parts of India. In Ajantā, Bhārhut, Sāñchi, Amarāvatī, Bhuvaneśvara, Nāgārjunakuņḍa, Mahāvallipuram, Chidāmvaram, and also in different parts of Bengal, we find paintings and bas-reliefs of the veenās in stones and terracottas, most of which are of the harp-type. The veenās, represented on the railings of the Bhārhut-stūpa, were chiselled during the second century A.D., and those appearing in the Ajantā frescoes were painted between the second to seventh century A.D. The bowtype veenā, which is found impressed on a type of coins of the Emperor Samudragupta, is a representation of the instrument of the fourth century A.D. The veenā, excavated from the mounds of Rupar, is possessed of four strings. It has been stated by Y. D. Sharma in his accounts of Exploration of Historical Sites (vide Ancient India, No. 9, 1955, p. 126): 'There are terracotta figurines in Sunga and Kushana style * * and include a seated figure of a lady playing on lyre reminiscent of Samudragupta's figure in likewise position on his coins. The sequence of cultural periods at Rupar has been divided into six, extending, from circa 2000-1400 B.C. to 1300-1700 A.D. The veenā, found in Rupar, dated from circa 200 B.C.

to A.D. 600. The sculptural representations of the Gandhara and some of the Amaravatī types of veenā (first-second century A D.) look somewhat different from their counterparts of Ajantā and Bhārhut. They resemble the modern saroda, with three or four strings. The use of this saroda type of ancient veenās (svara-veenās) were also prevalent in Nāgārjunakunda in India, Tunhang in China, Bazakilk, Quizil, Turfan, Yotkan in Khotan, Russā, Barabodur, Champā, and other places of the Central, Middle, and East Asian countries. But in Mahāvallipuram (seventh century A.D.) and in different parts of Bengal (ninth-fourteenth century A.D.), we find designs of different veenās, having two gourds, one at each end of the danda, and they were known as the sarasvatī-veenā. This type of veenā is also found in the sculptures of the Chidamvaram temple. So it is found that the construction of the veenā underwent various modifications, to suit the taste and temperament of the peoples of different ages.

The Sanskrit treatises like Sangīta-samayasāra (ninth-eleventh century), Sangīta-makaranda (fourteenth-sixteenth century), Sangīta-Ratnākara (thirteenth century) etc., mentioned and Sangīta-Ratnākara (thirteenth century) etc., mentioned veenās described various types of veenā. Pārśvadeva mentioned veenās like chala, kinnarī, laghūpūvikā, vrhat-kinnarikā, etc. He has like chala, kinnarī, laghūpūvikā, vrhat-kinnarikā, etc. He has described ten methods of playing like cchanda, kāmakalā, described ten methods of playing like cchanda, kāmakalā, vasupūrvakā, gajalīlā, parivādanam, etc. He also dealt with vasupūrvakā, gajalīlā, parivādanam, etc. He also dealt with the methods of construction of different kinds of veenā, along with the ekatantrī-veenā, which is considered a favourite of sankara or Siva. He further observed that the ekatantrī-veenā sankara or Siva. He further observed that the ekatantrī-veenā sankara or Siva important and ancient instrument.

instrument.

Nārada of Makaranda said about the veeņās like kacchapi,
kubjikā, chitrā, parivādinī, jayā, gho sāvatī, jye sthā, nakulī, mahatī,
kubjikā, chitrā, parivādinī, jayā, gho sāvatī, kinnarī, saurandrī,
vai sņavī, brāhmī, raudrī, rāvaņī, sarasvatī, kinnarī, saurandrī,
gho sakā, etc.

Sārangadeva described two main types of veenā, šruti and svara. By šruti-veenā, he means the veenā, by which twenty-

two microtones of the two ancient scales or grāmas, sadja and madhyama, were determined. He said:

Tatra Śrī Śārangadevena śruti-veenodita pūrā / Vaksyate svara-veenātra * * * //14

He described the veenās like ekatantrī, nakula-tritantrikā, chitrā, vepānchī, mattokokilā, ālapanī, kinnarī, pinākī, etc. He himself devised a new type of veenā, named after him, which is known as Niśanka-veenā. He described elaborately about the methods of construction and playing of different kinds of veeņā (vide the slokas 104 to 340). Paņdit Rāmāmatya (1550 A.D.) fully described the veenās, in the third chapter, veenā-prakaranam (ślokas 1-78), of the Svaramelakalānidhi. He said that there should be a cross-bar or danda, with a gourd or tumba on the left-hand side, attached with a round piece of metal, called nābhi, and so on. He divided the veenās into three main heads, and they were suddha-mela-veenā, madhya-melaveenā and achyuta-rajendra-mela-veenā. These three types of veenā differ only in their arrangements and names of the notes, according to their respective microtones. Rāmāmatya determined all the placed (suddha) and displaced (vikrta) notes, by means of four strings of a veenā, instead of twenty-two, adopted by Bharata. After Rāmāmatya, almost all the musicologists of India dealt with the problem of veenā, as it formed the basic medium for the determination of the tones and microtones of the rāgas of Indian music. So, it can be said that all the stringed instruments (tata-yantra) of India have their origin in the Vedic veenā. The ancient kacchapī or kāśyapī is known in the modern times as the kachuā-sitār. Kacchapī-veenā is sometimes termed as the veenā of the goddess Sarasvatī. tritantrī-Veenā is somewhat similar to the kacchapī-veenā. The difference between the kacchapī and the kinnarī lies in the number of their strings and structures. The former contains five to seven strings, whereas the latter only five. The kinnari was known as the kinnara, in the land of the Jews. The rabāb

^{14.} तत्र श्रीशारङ्गदेवेन श्र तिबीणोदित पुरा 🍻 🍁 बक्ष्यते स्वर-वीणात्र 🔹 🛊 ॥

is also a kind of veeṇā, known as rudra-veeṇā. In Afghanisthan and Persia, the rudra-veeṇā is called the 'rabāb', and in Arabia, it is known as 'rubāb'. The Sanskrit name of the saroda is sāradīyā-veeṇā, 15 and it is played by the plectrum (koṇa), instead of finger (aṅguli). The sura-śṛṅgāra is also a kind of veeṇā, and it is said that veeṇkāra Peeyār Khān constructed this instrument, out of the veeṇās, mahatī, kacchapī, and rudra. The sura-bāhāra is also a changed form of the kacchapī. Tumburu, tamburā or tānapurā is known as the tumburu-veeṇā. 16 The nādeśvara-veeṇā looks like the violin, but its arrangements of the strings and frets are like those of the kacchapī. We get also the names of the veeṇās, bharata and prasaranī. It is said that the bharata-veeṇā was fashioned out of the veeṇā, rudra and kacchapī.

Different postures are adopted for playing different kinds of veenā, but generally two of them are common, and they are vertical (ūrdhava) and horizontal (śayāṇa). In ancient paintings and sculptures, oblique postures of the veenās are sometimes found and they have also been mentioned in the Sanskrit treatises. In South India, sacred traditions are observed in the method of playing the ascending and descending notes first, then the svarāvalī, geetam, varņam and kīrtanam are consecutively practised or played. Rhythm and tempo of the veenā are kept by pakhowāj or mṛdangam. The body of the veeņā is generally made of jackwood, rosewood or sandelwood nowadays. The frets are made of steel or bronze. A wood or ivory bridge is also attached to the sound board. Accoustical uniformity and balance are strictly observed, along with the geometrically accuracy, in the case of freting and measuring the length of the brass or silver and steel wires, so as to produce distinct, sweet and pleasing sounds. Seven strings are common, but more than seven are also found in the modern veenā. On the basic principles of harmony, the funda-

^{15.} Some say that Sāradiyā-Veeņā and Rudra-Veeņā are one and the same.
16. The origin of Tumburu has been discussed in the next chapter.

mental frequency of the sounds is always observed in the method of playing, to produce accurate vibrations of the tones. The tonal values of the basic strings are multiplied and enriched by harmonies of upper partials. The main intervals of just intonation in the saptakas are observed to realize the exact frequency ratios from the fundamental, and upon it depends the real temperament and spirit of the tones and tunes of the veenās.

The musicologists (śāstrakāras) divide veeņā into two main classes, śuddha-mela and madhya-mela. They have again classified them into two, akhila-rāgamela and eka-rāgamela. The akhila-rāgamela means the veeņā with vajra or achala (unshifted) thāta, and all the rāgas are produced in this thāta. But in the eka-rāgamela, different rāgas are produced, and the frets are shiftable in it. In the veeņā, one more saptaka (Western 'octave') is used under the mandra-saptaka (udārā), and it is known as 'anumandra-sthāna'. Now, if we illustrate the different sthānas (frets and wires) in the veeņā, we find the bases of the notes in the frets as,

CHART

mandra-ma	mandra	anu-mandra-pa	anu-mandra-pa
mṛdu-pa śuddha-pa O śuddha-dha śuddha-ni śaiśika-ni	śuddha-ri śuddha-ga śuddha-ga mṛdu-ma śuddha-ma	śuddha-dha śuddha-ni kaiśika-ni mṛdu-sa śuddha-sa	The notes on the meru 1 śuddha-ri 2 śuddha-ga 3 sādhāraṇa-ga 4 mṛdu-ma 5 śuddha-ma
mṛdu-sa	mṛdu-pa	śuddha-ri	6 mrdu-pa

It should be remembered that this chart has been prepared mostly according to the dictum of Rāgavivodha of Paṇḍit

Somanāth (1609 A.D.). The notes are changeable in different veeṇās, according to the changes of their frets.

South India has preserved, even to this date, the sacred traditions of veenā-playing, whereas in the North it is somewhat neglected. The veenā is an instrument very difficult to handle. Earnest, sincere and protracted practice like that of spiritual sādhanā is necessary to attain proficiency in it. Sārangadeva said in the Sangīta-Ratnākara,

Darśana-sparśane chāsyā bhoga-svargāpavargade /
Punīto vipra-hatyādi-pātakaiḥ patitaṃ janaṃ //
Daṇḍa śambhu-rūmā tantrī kakubhaḥ kamalāpatiḥ /
Indrā patrikā brahmā tumbaṃ nābhiḥ sarasvatī //
Porako vāsukīrjivā sudhāmśuḥ-sārikā rabiḥ /
Sarva-devamayī tasmad-veeņeyaṃ sarva-mangalā //17

That is, by seeing and touching the veenā, one attains the sacred region and liberation. It purifies the sinner, who is even guilty of killing a Brāhmin. The danda, made of wood or bamboo, is Siva, the string is Devi Umā, the shoulder is Viṣṇu, the bridge is Lakṣmī, the gourd is Brahmā, the navel is Sarasvatī, the connecting wires are Vāsukī, the jīva is the moon, and the pegs are the sun. The veenā thus represents nearly all the gods and godesses, and is, therefore, capable of bestowing all kinds of divine blessings, benediction and auspiciousness. By practising the sacred veenā. one can harmonize both the mundane and supra-mundane lives, and make himself free from delusion and bondage of all sorts for ever and ever. The practice of veenā should, therefore, be revived and raised to its pristine glory, and should be looked upon as means to an end.

17. दर्शन-स्पर्शने चास्या भोग-स्वर्गापवर्गदे।
पुनीता विमहत्यादि-पातकैः पतितं जनम।।
दण्ड शम्भु-रुपा तन्त्री ककुभः कमलापितः।
इन्दिरा पत्रिका ब्रह्मा तुम्वं नाभिः सरस्वती।।
छोरको वासुकीर्जिह्मा सुधांशुः सारिका रिवः।
सर्वदेवमयौ तस्माद्वीनेयं सर्वमङ्कला।।
सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर (वाष्टाध्याय) ६।४६

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF TUMBURA

History and Origin of Tumburu-Veenā:

There are controversies regarding the place of origin of tumburā or tamburā, but it must be admitted for many reasons that the musical instrument tumbura originated in the soil of India. Tumburā is known as the drone instrument, and the artsites of Indian music realise tones of music from the vibrations of the strings of the tumburā. A tumburā or tamburā is possessed of a tumbā or gourd which receives and intensifies the resonance of sounds, produced by the plucking of the strings. The tumbā is, therefore, recognised as a reservoir of sweet and soothing sounds. The tanpura is a modern name of tumburā, and it signifies the production of accurate sounds of the tones. The tumbura evolved from the ekatantri-veenā, which is commonly known as ektārā or simple musical instrument with single string that produces the mono tone. Well has it been said by Dr. B. Chaitanya Deva, in connection with his learned and informative article on the Emergence of Drone in Indian Music (vide the Madras Music Academi Journal, vol. XXIII. pts. 1-4, 1952): "The word tumburā is usually associated with is Rişi Tamburu; and the appellation tamburā is supposed to be derived from his name, as it was his veenā. * * , it may be suggested that the word tamburā (or its older form tumburā) may be related to tumbi (?) meaning a gourd." We know that gourd has been very commonly used as a resonator for the stringed instruments; for instance, even the folk drone, ektar has for such a purpose (Prof. V. S. Apte, in his Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary, quotes the following

^{1.} It must correctly be said $tumb\bar{a}$, and not tumbi, because tumbi, is known as that which is possessed of a $tumb\bar{a}$ or gourd.

from Bhāminivilāsa, 1.80: "na hi tumbophala-vikalo veenādandah prayati mahimānam").

In fact, tumburā or tambura is a kind of veeņā or lute class instrument, and it evolved gradually from the ekatantrī-veeṇā, as has been said before. The artistes of Indian music gradually developed the finger-plucked simple ekatantrī-veeṇā to the fourstringed tumbura, to suit the purpose of producing other concordant tones along with the basic tone, drone (sadaj). We know from Dr. B. C. Deva that late Prof. P. K. Gode of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona, found that name, kalāvatī of the Tumburu's veeṇā (and not of tamburā-veeṇā) in the Abhidhāna-chintāmani. Now it should be noted that tamburu, tumburu and timburu are the mutilated names of the Gāndharva, an emanation of Siva or Bhairava, an emanation of Siva. Tumburā or tamburā has been ascribed to his name, and it is evident that tnmburā is an Indian musical instrument of the veeṇā class.

Now, who is Tumburu? Generally we know that Tumburu is a semi-divine Gāndharva like Nārada, Bharata, Hāhā, Huhu, Viśāvasu, Aśvatara and others. It is said that like Nārada, Tumburu was an accomplished musician as well as a musicologist and also a dramatist. While discussing about the Tantrik texts, studied in ancient Kambuja, Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bāgchi said: "The Sangitāloka, while mentioning the oldest authorities on music, cites the name of Tumburu. These authorities are: (1) Brahmā, (2) Siva, (3) Nandikeśvara, (4) Siva, (5) Rambhā, and (6) Tumburu: "śiva-nandikeśvara śivarambhāstathā tumburuh" (cf. MM. H. P. Sastri : Catalogue, vol. II, p. 72, and also Introduction, XXX). These are the names of the gods who revealed music to the mortals. Tumburu is a Gandharva. A stringed instrument, tumbura, is connected with his name. Though there is no definite text to fall back on, still it seems probable that Tumburu was no other than Siva himself. * * The four Tantrik texts, therefore, seem to have represented four different amnayas,² connected with the four faces of Tumburu, who was, in all appear, an emanation of Siva himself like the Bhairavas' (cf. Studies in Tantra, Calcutta, 1939 pp. 13-14).

Dr. B. R. Chatterji was of the opinion that "the theory of Panchasikha figures as a great musician who had a lyre of yellow Beluva (Bilva?) wood. The Gāndharva Timburu (Tumburu) is also mentioned in the Prasadi-kasuttanta. In the Chinese translations of these sūtras, the name of the Gāndharva is transcribed as Tan-feoulu=tam-lieu-ru=tam-buru * . The Mahābhārata refers to Tumburu on several occasions; in Ādiparva (65.51): supriya chatibahusca vikyatan cha hāhā-huhun | tumburuscheti chatvarah smrtah gāndharvasattamah | (Vide Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia, Calcutta, 1928, pp. 273-74).

Now, it is found from the inscription of Sdok-kak-Thom, discovered in the province of Sisophon, Cambodia or Kambuja, that the mystic cult of Devarāja, along with some Tāntrik texts, was introduced in Kambuja, during the reign of King Jayavarman II. Jayavarman II came from Java and ascended the throne in the Saka year 724 (802 A.D.). It is said that a Brahmin, named Hiranyadama came from Janapada, supposed to be some place in India. Hiranyadama gave Sivakaivalya, the royal priest of Jayavarman, four sāstras like sirascheda, vināsikha, sammoha and nayottara, which were really the four faces of Tumburu. Dr. B. R. Chatterji also admitted that "the word Tumburu (of which, according to the inscription, the four texts, consists the four faces) is the name of a Gāndharva and there is a Gāndharvatantra in the Viṣṇukrāntā group." Lochana Kavi also mentioned in the Ragatarangini (Dvārbhāngā edition) the name of a Tumburu-nātak, which ascribed to the name of Risi or Gandharva, Tumburu. Both Dr. Bagchi and Dr. Chatterji said that Tumburu is the name of a Gandharva, or of Siva, or of Bhairava, the emanation of

^{2.} But it should be remembered that Siva is practically possessed of five faces, and so fine amnayas are ascribed to Siva.

Siva-Mahādeva. They admitted that Tumburu was efficient in art and science of music, and his instrument was named after him, known as the tumbura-veeṇā or tumburā or tamburā. Now this fact proves that tumburā or tamburā, the absolute drone instrument of Indian music, is not of indigenous origin, but it evolved in India as a class of veṣṇā.

Francis W. Galpin informed us that in Turkey, a musical instrument, tanbur with its Arabic name, is available. In Babylonia, it is known as tanboura with some changed forms. A very large bass guitar, tamburā, is also found in Croatia, over 6 feet in height and strung with four strings (cf. A Text-Book of European Musical Instruments, London, 1946, pp. 92-93, 102) Prof. Hortense Panum mentioned a monochord musical instrument, called pandoura, which, in the course of time, degenerates into Oriental tanbura, which in the East was principally used to indicate the long-necked original type, but which, in the combination tanbur kirassen, was also used by the Arabs to designate the pear-shaped instrument."3 But it should be remembered that pandoura and tanbur are quite different from the Indian tumbura or tambura which was no fret. Prof. Carl Engel said that the tamboura of Hindustan differs chiefly from those, described in having no fret, and "generally of an extraordinary large size. * * ". Karl Geiringer and Anthony Baines did not specifically mention about the tambora-like instruments in their Musical Instruments (1945) and Musical Instruments through Ages (1561).

Prof. Carl Engel discussed about the instrument tamboura beautifully in his book, The Music of the Most Ancient Nations. He said that tamboura is specially in use in Persia, Hindustan and Asiatic Turkey. It is also found in Egypt. "Mr. Villoteau, the intelligent musician, who was a member of the Scientific Expedition which accompanied Napolian Bonaparte to Egypt", said Prof. Engel, "has given us the most circumstantial information of it which we possess. He saw and

^{3.} Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages, London, pp. 215-216.

examined in Egypt not less than five kinds of tambouras, which differed from each other principally in size, in slight variation in the shape of the body, in the number of their strings, and in a few other similar points."

In Egypt, the tambourā is at present not much in use. Prof. Engel said in this connection: "The high antiquity of the tambourā among the Egyptians is proved by the fact that a figure of it is found among the hieroglyphs, meaning nofre, 'good'; which also seems to indicate that it was at early time held in much favour. It occurs in representations of concerts of the eighteenth dynasty, which dates, according to Sir Gardar Wilkinson, from B.C. 1575 to 1289. Some of the heiroglyphs, in which it occurs are, however, at least 600 years earlier". From this it is understood that the practice of tambourā is very ancient in Egyptian and other lands. In Iran, it was known as tumburā, in Arabia, as tānbur, in modified forms. Dr. H. G. Farmer also mentioned in his A History of Arabian Music (1929) the stringed instrument, tunbur, similar to pandore (cf. pp. 5-7, 31, 47, 149, 155 etc.). But the Arabian or Persian or Assyrian tānbur or tānbour or tanboarā is quite different from the Indian tumbura or tambura. Prof. Engel was right when he has taid: "The tambouru is used by the Hindoos either as a solo instrument for instrumental performance, or for accompanying the voice".

In conclusion, it can be said that tumburā or tambura is purely an Indian musical instrument, and it developed gradually from the ekatantri-veeṇā, as has been said before to accompany the classical and also devotional music. It is quite true that representation of modern type of tumburā or tamburā-like musical instrument are not found in the ancient sculptures and paintings, but we notice many simple types of veeṇā (lute), depicted in the early sculptures and paintings, and we should not forget that tumburā was originally a veeṇā-type of instrument. We also find references of tumburu-veeṇā in different literature and Tāntric texts. Now, it can be asked as to how the musical instrument came to be known as tumburā or tamburā? From

the close study we know that tambura or tumburu-veeņā originally took its name from its vital part tumba or gourd, the reservoir of resonance of the sounds. Tumburā is also known as tumbi, being possessed of tumbā ("tumbā astyarthe in"). Dr. B. C. Deva mentioned that, according to Abdul Rasak Kanpuri, the word tamburā is neither Persian, nor Arabic, but is Indian and his (Razak's) 'Al-Bāramika' gives the Indian term tumbā, which was modified into tumburā in Iran and tānbur in Arabia. We have also discussed that tumbura is connected with the name of Riși or semi-divine Gandharva, Tumburu, and mythologically this instrument might borrow the name, tamburā from Gandharva Tumburu.

Further it should be noted that mere resemblance of shape and name of the Indian tumburā, with those of the instruments of other countries, does not prove it to be indigenous in origin. It might be possible that the simple type of tumburā or tumburuveenā travelled to other countries in the most ancient days, through the medium of trade and religious missions; or it might be the fact that for the cause of cultural fusion of one country with the other, the simple type of ancient tumburā found its way to be introduced in the system of music of other nations.

Antiquity of the Tumburu-Veenā It is very difficult to ascertain the exact date of origin and practice of tumburā or tamburā in the Indian society. In the pre-Christian and also in the early Christian era, we find the pictures of the veenās, depicted in sculptures of different Hindu temples and Buddhist monasteries and cave-temples. Their shapes are quite different from those of the veenās, current in the mediæval and modern times. Most of the veenās, depicted in the ancient Buddhist cave-temples and monasteries look like the half-bent harps, fitted with different numbers of wire, made of grass or animal intestines or thread. But the tumburā-like veeņās are very rare in the ancient sculptures. It is most probable that the modern type of the tumburā veenās is found in both the Rājasthāni and Muhammedan Ragamala pictures of the 17th-19th century. It might be the fact that tamburā type of veenā was introduced by both the Rājput and the Muhammedan Rulers in their courts for classical and devotional songs, and from that time onward it was in practice by the artistes of Indian music. The shapes, decorations, and fittings of the tamburās took different forms and motifs in different times, according to the tests or likings of the artistes as well as of the designers of the instrument.⁴

4. In this connection, it can be said:

(a) Esrāj: It seems that the word Earaj has been derived from the Urdu word (A-E-Sh) Aaish-Raj which means Aaish (aesh)-easy or easy access + Raj-greatly. The entire meaning of the, musical (string) instrument is that which can greatly be used or played at ease. Now, this siring instrument was devised in Bengal (perhaps by a Bengali artist). It is said that when Wazed-Ali-Shah of Lucknow came to Bengal and settled at Metiyaburuz (Calcutta), this instrument, Earāj (āyesh + rāj)—tbe musical instrument which is handled and played with ease and with great access, was devised by an artist (probably Bengali) with the mixture of Sitar and Sarengi. The frets (ghats) of Esraj are similar to those of Sitar, but played with stick (chadri) as is played on the Sarengi. When Md. Basat Khan, a renowned Mohammedian artist settled from Calcutta at Gayā, perhaps he took it and introduced it at Gayā. Then the renowned artists like Kānāilāl Dhedji and others of Gaya took this (easily accessed) instrument Esraj with care, and began to culture, and this instrument was much appreciated at Gaya, and gradually was appreciated in

(b) Sitar: The origin of sitar or setār can be traced back to chitrāveenā possessed of seven strings. The gātra-veena is also-possessed of seven
strings, and the gātra-veenā is more ancient. Nārada mentioned the name
of the gātra-veenā in the Sikṣā. So both gātra-veenā and chitrā-veenā can
be considered to be the form

be considered to be the fore-runners of the modern sitār.

(c) Saroda: It is known as the sāradiyā-veeṇā which can be traced back to rudra-veeṇā. In Persia, the rudra-veeṇā is known as rabāb, and in Arabia and rābāb are of Indian origin like violin or vāhulin, the Indian name rabāb had their origin in Afganisthan and not in India, but we think that a close investigation should be made for its definite determination.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

IDEAL OF INDIAN MUSIC

Music is a Fine Art

Music is a fine art. It represents the divine beauty and grandeur of creation, the Art of God. The *Upaniṣad* says that God is the greatest Poet and Ordainer: 'kavim purāṇam anuśāsitāram', and this gigantic universe is a poetical piece, composed by Him. The intrinsic beauty and glory of this wonderful poetical piece is expressed by music, and so it can be known as the greatest art.

Music is a kind of balmy medicine that heals the aching hearts of men and animals, and removes the pangs of the suffering multitude. In the antique days, the primitive men and women used to sing and dance in the midst of their multifarious activities, deep cares and anxieties. They sang and dance, because they found solace in their distress or disappointment or tedium in them. The peoples of Vedic and Classical days acquired the habit of singing and dancing, to enliven their society and culture. The tradition of ancient music passed in different ways in the ancient and mediaeval times, and the same is maintained even to this day with some new inhovations. The peoples still find happiness and peace in spite of the toils, turmoils and trials in their earthly lives.

A great Western philosopher said that man is a storehouse of emotions or sensations, which build him, lead him and inspire him throughout his life. A man works, being motivated by the inspiration of his will. He design a plan of his work before he does it outwardly. His will is the force-centre and prime-mover of everything he intends to do, nay, it is the designer of his life, personality and character. The musicology tells us that will creates music, and music allures the

mind of all living beings and makes them divine in this earth. But there lies a difference between the will-to-work and willto-music, as the former creates the nets of desires that bind men in the den of delusion, while the latter makes him free from the fetters of desires, which is no other than nescience. The musicology states that sound is like the physique with flesh and blood, whereas vital force or mukhya-prāna is the psyche or soul of music. The sound represents two-fold aspects, causal and gross: the causal, being unmanifested, is imperceptible, and the gross is perceptible, and is known as 'music'. The gross sound comes out through the vocal chord, and enriches itself with tone, microtone, mode, melody, rhythm and tempo, and æsthetic sentiment. It is mainly known by its richest ingredient, melody or raga, that evolves from the combination and permutation of notes. In India, the raga reached climax. The intuitive artists saw in their ecstatic vision the living forms of the rāgas, and the poets composed their colourful contemplative dhyānas. Music in India is, therefore, recognised as spiritual food and divine blessing to men and women, and by its practice they attain immortality even while they live in mortal frames. The human soul finds in it the goal of seemingly unending journey, and gets tranquillity and everlasting bliss.

Evolution and Music

Indian Music admits the theory of evolution, and though it underwent various changes in different periods, yet it maintains an unifying principle and basic ideal of its own. It developes some new and novel manifestations, unifies them, and makes them fit for proper application by the society. Its highest function is to create æsthetic beauty, and bring through it the real peace and enjoyment in the minds of those, who listen to, and appreciate it. As a painter draws at first a bare outline of a portrait, and then fills it up with colours, moods, and graces, so an artist of Indian music first designs

a skeletal form of a melody (rāga), by the arrangement of tones and tunes, and then enriches it with mūrcchanā, alamkāra, tāna, gamaka, meeds, etc. First there comes an outline of motif in the way of creation or manifestation of a raga, and then follows the process of ornamentation. But mere construction and ornamentation are not the entire thing for the representation of a melodic pattern or rāga, but it requires something more to infuse life in it, and to energise it. Creation of a thing is meaningless without proper understanding and enjoyment of its beauty and grandeur. As God the Almighty creates the universe to enjoy His own greatness and beauty, so an artist of music creates music to appreciate and enjoy the inner significance of his own creation.

Appreciation of Music

Now, what do we mean by the word 'appreciation'? appreciate a thing means to get into the very core of the thing, to commune with the thing, or to become one with the thing. As for example, when we appreciate a picture, we first study the motif of the picture, and then go into its intrinsic beauty and divine grace. So when we appreciate music, which is the combination of words, tune, rhythm and tempo, grace and sentiment, we first hold on to the compact of music, and then get into it, loose our separate entity into it, and become one with it. And that is the real meaning and significance of the appreciation of music. The process of appreciation does not know any diversion, separation, or difference, but it creates a permanent inseparable bond that makes the singer and the listener and undivided one. Indian Yoga psychology calls this appreciation a process of concentration and meditation. So, when we appreciate music, we first concentrate and meditate upon the compact of music, and then become one with it. So, the nature of Indian music is introspective. It moves gracefully upwards and downwards from a fixed point, and completes its circuit, keeping eyes to the sonant, which forms the life-force of the melodies and their manifestations. The accompanying musical instrument are tuned or tempered with the drone. It is a special feature of Indian music to make an amity with the concordant ones, using properly the sonant (amisa or vādī), the assonant (anuvādī), and the consonant (samvādī). The sonant is known as the king or ruler, the consonant, the minister and the dissonant, the enemy. Synthesis is its keynote, and it leads the intuitive artists and lovers of music towards the realization of the transcendental beauty, and that means appreciation of music.

Music: Indian and Western

Indian music is mainly based upon melody or rāga,1 whereas the Western music is principally founded on harmony. Melody means a succession of single sounds, and the harmony is the simultaneous production of chords and different tones or sounds. T. P. Kṛṣṇa Rāo clarified this difference in his book The Psychology of Music: 'It is the melody of Indian music alone that can express internal emotions faithfully, and it is harmony of the West that can express the external emotion. Melody primarily succeeds emotion, while harmony precedes it. Harmony lets emotion in, and melody lets it out. Melody unites or repels the hearts, while harmony unites them with nature. We thus find a fundamental difference between the two systems of music, Indian and Western. But Indian and Western systems of music appear different not only in respects of melody and harmony, but also in many other respects. Indian music weaves a fabric of systematic and scientific evolution of notes, seminotes, melody-types or rāgas, musicparts or dhātus, graces, and æsthetic emotions and moods. The nature of Indian music is to move round the drone, which

^{1.} It should be noted that 'melody' of the Western music is not the correct synonym of 'rāga' of the Indian music, as Indian rāga conveys more deep significance and meaning that melody does. Indian melody is more than a means or a process, and it is an end in itself.

is known as the primal and fundamental note. Drone is called the foundational, because it helps to manifest and develop the notes other than it. It may be said to be a centre of unification, and all other notes are harmoniously bound up with and related to it. It is recognised also as a synthetic force-centre that brings unity in diversity.

A little insight will show that Indian music lends to the artists ample freedom and liberty to evolve and create new and original techniques and forms of music. Though it is true that Indian music follows some prescribed rules and injunctions for making it manifest, yet there is immense scope for new creation. Western music, in this respect, is rigid to some extent. In the West, the artists have no free hand to create and produce music, as they are bound to reproduce the fixed notations, given by the composers. They cannot even extemporise, when giving a demonstration of composed music. But it must be admitted freely, however, that the orchestration of their music is as rich and unique as it is beautiful, and the harmony rendered in their music is wonderful. Indian music has, on the other hand, a very broad vision. It never ignores the independent status of the artist's creative genius, rather it is fully aware of the fact that freedom is the inner essence of man, and he has every right of freedom in his choice of beauty and colourful artistic creation. The new light of freedom and independence has dawned upon the horizon of India. In this age of renaissance, the old stereotyped things are being replaced by the new and novel ones, and new hope, spirit and aspiration are gathering upon the fading past.

Indian Music should take a New Drive

The music of India has reached its climax, after passing through many changes in various ages, and yet it requires additions and alterations,—a vision of reconstruction and synthetic creation. Indian music has not only been elevated by the contribution of the Persians and the Mughal Durbars, in the mediæval period, but it has also been enriched and reformed by the Aryans and non-Aryans of India, from time immemorial. Fusion of culture makes the nerves of a nation strong and vigourous, and brings about novelty of thoughts and ideas in the society. Indian music is, in this respect, very liberal in its outlook and broad in its vision, as it embraces all the elements, indigenous and foreign, to make its form and volume perfect and rich.

This is an epoch of revival and reconstruction; this is an age of science and reason. The Indian music should now march through a new course, and take a new drive, adopting itself to the taste and temperament of the present changing dynamic society. The prabandha type of dhruvapada-gīti is unique and divine, but its present monotonous demonstration has made it unpleasant to the masses. The artists of the dhruvapada are sometimes found to take recourse to the mechanical feats of bare techniques like intricate bātas, etc., and as such it is fast becoming a dead art,—an art of the pathetic.

Sense of Proportion is Required

The classical kheyāl type of songs, which is apt to create an atmosphere of wonder and grace with its artistic composition and intricate tānas, has also fallen from its high pedastal, has lost its real spirit and creative impulse, along with its prime aims and objects. Its demonstration sometimes appear to be too heavy and mechanical, and the unbalanced limitless sense of proportion and intrinsic beauty. So, in presenting Indian music, earnest efforts should be made to keep its spirit and ideal before the eyes. Thunri, tappā, and other types of song have undoubtedly won the hearts of the music-lovers, but yet sometimes they are sung monotonously, devoid of

real perspective and motive. The padavali-kirtana of Bengal, kīrtana, padam, and other types of songs of South India, and bhajana and other religio-devotional songs are appreciated by the people at large, but some of the artists are devoid of the sense of creating a religious atmosphere in their songs. They mostly lack spiritual insight, and so their efforts result in failure. It is, however, not a destructive criticism of, or a challenge to the worshippers of fine arts, but is only a plea, for restoring or reviving the sublime ideal and true spirit of glorious Indian music.

Everything happens in this world with a motive behind. There is no aimless marching, or an accidental happening anywhere, in this vast universe. Culture of music, in the same way, has an object, which must be directed towards the good and welfare of the human society at large. Men of all ages and climes consider music as the greatest medium for artistic expression, which is not found in the same way in the domain of literature, sculpture, painting, and architecture. And so, music has been called the 'universal language' that speaks not only to the ears of living beings, but also to their hearts, with an immediate emotional and spiritual appeal.

Greatness of the Art

Then the question necessarily arises wherein lies the greatness of the art of music. The answer is that not merely it lies in the fascinating combination of words (sāhitya) and tunes (sura) of music, but in the proper representation of its spirit that brings out its real significance and value. The greatness of music depends upon its efficient and artistic rendering and creation, and, consequently, upon the selective faculty of the intuitive artists. So the artists should be fully aware as to how to create and represent the art of music, with their minds wide open to the sense of proportion, beauty, and real value of music. They should first attain proficiency in history, science, theory, psychology, and æsthetic philosophy of music, and then realize the true significance of the art. Otherwise, it will be a meaningless and aimless reproduction of tones and tunes, resulting in a blind imitation, destitute of life and motive force.

Musicians should be conscious while Creating Art

Music of any kind, of any country, should not be burdened with mere mechanical techniques and textures, but it should be of deep significance. The artists of music should know that music is a common property, and all have a claim and right to get a share in it, to enjoy it, and to consider it as the means of solace and everlasting peace. It should be properly handled and distributed with a keen sense of beauty, together with proportion and balance. The artists of music should keep their minds open to the receiving capacity and depth of appreciative sense of the listeners. They must bear in mind that music should always be made sweet and suitable to the taste of both the special and general classes of listeners. Music, classical or folk, urban or rural, must not be set apart for a selected community or chosen class of people, but its appeal should be made universal, bearing in the mind the beautiful motto that music is an universal language that speaks to all classes of listeners, irrespective of caste, creed,

Latent should be Potent

Divine beauty and solemnity lie within the core of music, but as they naturally remain latent and unmanifested, they shall be made potent and manifest by efficient and intelligent handling. The vibrations of tones and tunes create impressions in men and animals, and colour the mind in the form of sensation and feeling. Artists should know how to the human society at large. Music should, therefore, be looked upon as an applied art and science, and be cultured

with the purpose of creating a novelty in presentation. It must not be bound up with a chain of rigid rules and restrictions, but should be made mobile, with scope for additions and alterations, when and where necessary. The taste and temperament of the modern society should not be ignored or overlooked. We should bear in mind that the reigns of Il-tut-mish, Alā-ud-dīn khaljī, Sultān Husain Sharqī, Muhammed Shah, Akbar and others are long over. The foreign rule has come to an end. Renaissance has downed over the horizon of independent India, and its light has brought new hope and new aspirations in the hearts of her people. Now the awakened soul of India should be invoked to infuse new light and new spirit in the body of the present system of Indian music. Narrowness of the age old petrified ideas and prejudices should be removed and rectified, and all the talents of India and abroad should put their heads together with a siprit of amify and love, for a comparative study and proper development of music. of the famous settings of the state of the

India's Contribution to the Domain of Culture

India's contribution to the domain of culture and civilization is immense. Whether be it in literature, poetry, philosophy, religion, spirituality, and positive science, or in the field of sculpture, painting and music. Though these arts differ from one another in their modes of expression and representation, yet their intransic value, abiding essence, and basic principle are one and the same, and all of them draw inspiration and æsthetic impetus from one fountain-head. Rāi Bāhādur Ramāprasād Chanda cherished the same opinion when he said that we cannot appreciate the beauty or power of æsthetic rapture and emotion (rasa and bhāva) in anything, until art is created. It is true that a medium is necessary to express the real value and beauty of the Fine Arts. Tones and tunes have been chosen as the medium in music, words in poetry, structures of buildings in architecture, chiselled images in sculpture, and colours, lines, and drawing in painting. Through all these media, beauty of Nature is apperceived and appreciated. The beauty of Nature is the basis of all expressions of Art. Besides the medium, there is an ideal in Indian Art. Because a medium or means expresses the gross material skeleton, flesh and blood of Art, whereas, ideal reveals its life-force or spirit.

Ideal of Indian Art

The ideal of Indian art is to represent the idealistic and spiritualistic aspects of an object, and at the same time illumine its realistic phase. As for example, the Buddhist art of India designed the stone image of Lord Buddha in a posture of meditation, which apparently shows no great artistic ability and marvellously reveals the inward depth of spirituality, calmness, serenity, and repose, which the Greco-Roman art fails to exhibit. The French indologist Growsset prefers to call this phase of Buddhist art as the Romano-Buddhist art of Gandhara. Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee drew a line of distinction between the arts, Greco-Roman and Romano-Buddhist. He said that the first is relatively static and insipid, and is marked by the emphasis on anthropomorphism and individualism, and the assimilation of symbols and motifs from the contemporary art of the Roman Orient, rather than by the Indian spirituality and idealism. Whereas the second one under the influence of Mahāyāna idealism breathes a purely Buddhist-Indian spirit although the technique is Hellenic. The Buddha and the Bodhisattva master-pieces of the second school of Gandhara exhibit profound Indian piety that subdues Hellenism. 'The art of Gandhara', estimated Dr. Mukherjee, 'achieved its maturity by the end of the first century A.D. and continued to influence India through the schools of Mathurā, Vidiśā and Sāranāth up to the 5th century. The influence of the art school of North-West India and the Kābul Valley, characterised by a fusion of Hellenism and

Hinduism in the cosmopolitan Kushān world, penetrated to every nook and corner of India in the course of five centuries'.

Such is also the case with Indian music, which is markedly distinguishable in its form, ideal and beauty, from the music of the other countries. Though Indian music appears realistic in its presentation, yet it breathes deep spirituality. It brings Heaven down to the earth, and uplifts the mind of every earthly being. The history of Vedic India reminds us of its spiritual legacy of the sacred sāman chants. The adept chanters of hoary antiquity used to sing the sāmans in praise of Agni, Varuṇa, Indra, Mitra, and other gods, and although they aimed at material prosperity on the surface, yet their main object was to attain spiritual illumination. Music of India has preserved that solemn tradition and ideal, all through the ages, and so the authors on music have laid the greatest emphasis upon its spiritual side. They say that practice of music is a sādhanā which unfolds the grand mystery of human life.

Music of India, whether Northern or Southern, is, therefore, a divine art. It constitutes the object of a psycho-material principle, and creates an objective beauty of the subjective divinity, that inspires the artists to attain a vision of the transcendental beauty. In fact, the art of music makes it possible for its votaries to commune with Nature, and discloses the unplumed deeps of its mystery. It animates human ideas, and brings perfect balance between inner tranquillity and outward activity. The ideal of music is, therefore, to get the highest and yet the sweetest means to man's ultimate end. It promises to rescue the people at large, from the dark den of delusion, and confers upon them the blessings of permanent peace and eternal happiness, even in this world of nescience.

Indian music recognizes the methods of philosophical, religious, and spiritual disciplines. It recognises both the Yoga system of Patañjali and the mystic practices of the Tantra philosophy. If we go deep into the first chapter of Śāraṅgaphilosophy. If we go deep into the first chapter of Śāraṅgaphilosophy. Saṅgūt-Ratnākara, where he beautifully discussed the theory of Nāda or Sphota, we find a clue to explore the

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entire field not of Indian music, but also of the world-music. There Sāraṅgadeva said that culture and knowledge of Indian music are not meant for fleeting material and intellectual pleasures, nor does it rest content merely with an intellectual construction and reproduction, as the Western music does in many cases, but its principal objective is to dissociate the mind from the worries and anxieties and sordid selfish interests of this transient world and to help the artists and audiences to concentrate their minds on the matrix of music, and to attain spiritual consciousness.

APPENDIX

TOP TO DATE

PLACE OF MUSIC IN GENERAL HISTORY

Music is only now beginning to take the place due to it in general history. It seems a strange thing that concepts of the evolution of man's soul should have been formed while one of the strongest expressions of that soul has been ignored. But we know what difficulty the other arts have had in obtaining recognition in general history, even when they were more favoured and easier of approach by the French mind. It is so long ago that this did not apply to the history of literature and science and philosophy and, indeed, the whole of human thought? Yet the political life of a nation is only a superficial part of its being; in order to learn its inner life—the source of its actions—we must penetrate to its very soul by way of its literature, its philosophy, and its art, where the ideas, the passions, and the dreams of its people are reflected...

On the surface, literature and philosophy may seem to give us more definitive information by reducing the characteristics of an age to precise formulas. On the other hand, this artificial simplification may leave us with inelastic and important ideas. Art is modelled on life, and it has an almost verished ideas. Art is modelled on life, and it has an almost greater value than literature because its domain is infinitely more extended......

Music perplexes those who have no feeling for it; it seems to them an incomprehensible art, beyond reasoning and having no connection with reality. What help can history possibly draw from that which is outside ordinary matter and therefore outside history?........

It constantly happens that the arts influence one another, that they intermingle, or that, as a result of their natural evolution, they overflow their boundaries and invade the domains of neighbouring arts. Now it is music that would

become painting, now painting that would be music. "Good painting is music, a melody", said Michelangelo, at a time when painting was giving precedence to music, when Italian music was extricating itself, so to speak, from the very decadence of other arts. The doors between the arts are not closely shut as many theorists would pretend, and one art is constantly opening upon another. Arts may extend and find their consummation in other arts; when the mind has exhausted one form, it seeks and finds a more complete expression in another. Thus is a knowledge of the history of music often necessary to the history of the plastic arts.

But the essence of the great interest of art lies in the way it reveals the true feeling of the soul, the secrets of its inner life, and the world of passion that has long accumulated and fermented there before surging up to the surface. Very often thanks to its depth and spontaneity, music is the first indication of tendencies which later translate themselves into words, and afterward into deeds

Thus music shows us the continuity of life in apparent death, the flowering of an eternal spirit amidst the ruin of the world. How then should one write the history of these times if one neglected some of their essential characteristics? How should one understand them if one ignored their true inner force? And who knows but that such an omission might falsify not only the aspect of one period of history but the whole of history itself? Who knows if the words "Renaissance" and "Decadence" do not arise, is in the preceding example, from our limited view of a single aspect of things? An art may decline, but does Art itself ever die? Does it not rather have its metamorphoses and its adaptations to environment? It is quite evident, at any rate, that in ruined kingdom, wrecked by war or revolution, creative force could express itself in architecture only with difficulty; for architecture needs money and new structures, besides prosperity and confidence in the future. One might even say that the plastic arts in general have need of luxury and leisure, of refined society, and of a

certain equilibrium in civilization, order to develop themselves fully. But when material conditions are harder, when life is bitter, starved, and harassed with care, when the opportunity of outside development is withheld, then the spirit is forced back upon itself, and its eternal need of happiness drives it to other outlets; its expression of beauty is changed and takes a less external character, and it seeks refuge in more intimate arts, such as poetry and music. It never dies-that I believe with all my heart. There is no death or new birth of the spirit there, for its light has never been extinguished; it has died down only to blaze anew somewhere else. And so it goes from one art to another, as from one people to another. If you study only one art you will naturally be led to think that there are interruptions in its life, a cessation of its heartbeats. On the other hand, if you look at art as a whole, you will feel the stream of its eternal life.

That is why I believe that for the foundation of all general history we need a sort of comparative history of all forms of art; the omission of a single form risks the blurring of the whole picture. History should have the living unity of the spirit of humanity for its object and should maintain the cohesion of all its thought.

Let us try to sketch the place of mustc in the course of history. That place is far more important than is generally thought, for music goes back to the far distances of civilization. To those who would date it from yesterday, one would recall Aristoxenus of Tarentum, who made the decadence of music begin with Sophocles; and Plato who, with sounder judgment, found that no progress had been made since the seventh century and the melodies of Olympus. From one age to another people have said that music had reached its apogee and that nothing but its decline could follow. There are no epochs in the world without their music, and there has been no civilized people without its musicians at some time in its history—even those whom we are accustomed to regard as least endowed

with the gift of music, as for example, Endland, which was a great musical nation until the Revolution of 1688.

There are historical conditions more favourable than others to the development of music, and it seems natural, in some respects, that a musical efflorescence should coincide with the decadence of other arts and even with a country's misfortunes. The examples which we have quoted from the time of the Invasions and from the seventeenth century in Italy or Germany incline our belief that way. And this would seem quite logical, since music is an individual form of thought and for its expression demands nothing but a soul and a voice. An unhappy person, surrounded by ruin and misery, may nevertheless achieve a masterpiece in music or poetry.

But we have been speaking of only one form of music. Music, although it may be an individual art, is also a social art; it may be the offspring of meditation and sorrow, but it may also be that of joy and even frivolity. It accommodates itself to the characters of all people and all time; when one knows its history and the diverse forms it has taken throughout the centuries, one is no longer astonished at the contradictory definitions given to it by lovers of beauty. One man may call it architecture in motion, another poetical psychology; one man sees it as a plastic and well-defined art, another as an art of purely spiritual expression; for one theorist melody is the essence of music, for another this same essence is harmony. And, in truth, it is so; they are all right.

So history leads us, not to doubt everything—far from it—but to believe a little of everything; to test general theories by opinions that are true for this particular group of facts and that particular hour in history; to use fragments of the truth. It is perfectly right to give music every possible kind of name, for it is an architecture of sound in certain centuries of architecture and with certain architectural people, such as the Franco-Flemings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is also drawing, line, melody, and plastic beauty, with people who have an appreciation and admiration for form, with painter

and sculptor people like the Italians. It is inner poetry, lyrical outpouring, and philosophic meditation with poets and philosophers like the Germans. It adapts itself to all conditions of society, It is a courtly and poetic art under Francis I and Charles IX; an art of faith and fighting with the Reformation; an art of affectation and princely pride under Louis XIV; an art of the salon in the eighteenth century. Then it becomes the lyric expression of revolutionaries, and it will be the voice of the democratic societies of the future, as it was the voice of the aristocratic societies of the past. formula will hold it. It is the song of centuries and the flower of history; its growth pushes upward from the griefs as well as from the joys of humanity.1

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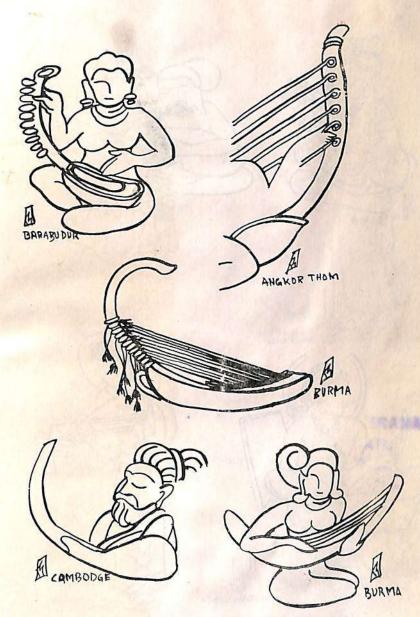
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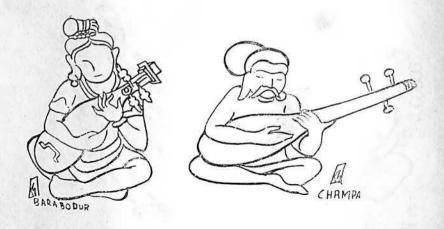
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STANKRISHNA ASHRAMA



Veenas of the Harp Type
(Barabudur, 8th century A.D.; Angkor Thom, 12th-13th century A.D.; Burma, 2nd-8th century A.D.,
Cambodge, 6th-13th century A.D.)





Veenas of the Saroda and Harp Types
(Barabudur, 8th century A.D.; Champa, 1st-2nd —13th century A.D.; Samudragupta with Veena, 4th century A.D.; Sumara, Russia, 5th-6th century A.D.)



Veenas with one and two Gourds

(Mahavalipuram, 7th century A.D.; Bagali-Kaleswara, 14th century A.D. (Bengal); Rangpur, 9th century A.D.;

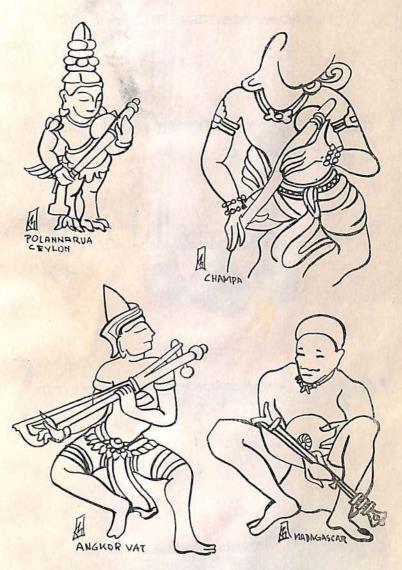
Ajanta, 200 B.C.—7th century A.D.)



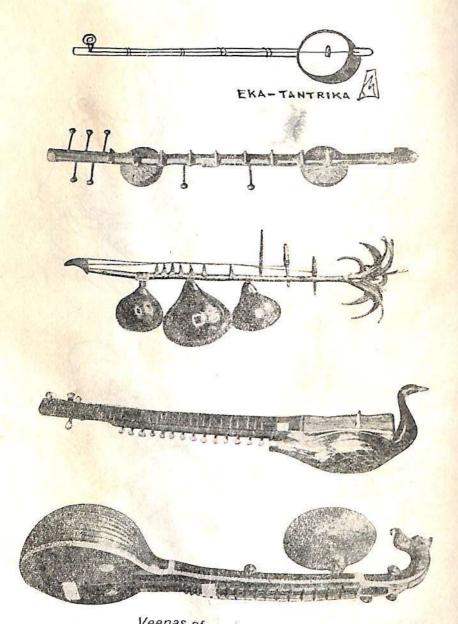


Veenas of the Harp Type

(Amaravati, 2nd-3rd century A.D., Qizil, 6th century A.D.)



Veenas with one Gourd
Polannarua, Ceylon, 7th century A.D.; Champa, 1st-2nd —
13th century A.D.)



Veenas of modern Type

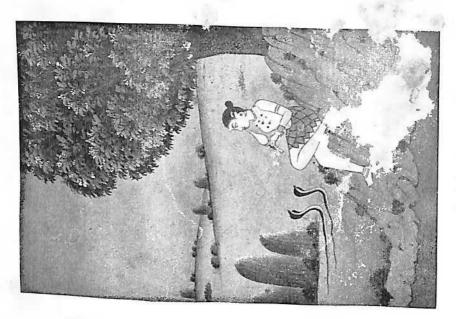
1. Eka-tantri-veena; 2. Mahati-veena; 3. Kinnari veena
4. Mayuri-veena; 5. South-Indian Veena.

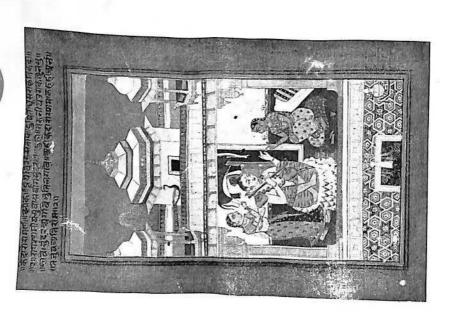






Veenas of ancient Type (Gandhara) and Harp Type
Gandhara, 1st-2nd century A.D.; Barabudur, 8th century
A.D., Bharut, 200 B.C.







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